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HISTORICAL AND LITERARY REMAINS  
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**Lancaster and Chester.**

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THE  
**P**oems  
OF  
JOHN BYROM.

EDITED BY  
ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD,  
LITT.D., HON. LL.D.,  
*Principal of Owens College, Manchester; and*  
*Hon. Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.*

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VOL. II.—SACRED POEMS.  
PART I.

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PRINTED FOR THE CHETHAM SOCIETY.  
1895.



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# The Poems of John Byrom.

VOL. II. PART I.

---

## A DIVINE PASTORAL.

[I have thought it appropriate to begin this volume, containing Byrom's *Sacred Poems*, with the *Divine Pastoral*, although not strictly speaking quite the earliest of the pieces contained in it. These stanzas were written by Byrom, probably before March, 1724 (see *Introductory Note* to *A Hymn on the Divine Omnipresence*, *infra*), and certainly before the year 1725. See his *Diary*, January 10th, 1726: [Mr. Whitworth] "told me again of publishing a miscellany of my own" (after the manner of the great wits of the day); "that everything of mine had been commended; that he had shown the pastoral 'The Lord is my Shepherd' to Mr. Hedges, and that he had said he would give all the world to be able to have done them." (*Remains*, i. 190.)

Probably, many persons have been found to agree with Mr. Hedges. For my part, I confess that this paraphrase, if the designation may loosely be applied to it, seems to me not only pre-eminent among its author's efforts of the kind for freshness and felicity, but possessed of an original charm which should secure it a place in any anthology of the best English verse. No doubt, Byrom in writing it remembered the *Pastoral* (see vol. i. p. 1) to which he owed his early poetical reputation, and for this reason ventured on the bold experiment of composing the present poem in the same metre as "*My time, O ye Muses*." His success is the more remarkable; for nothing but an absolutely unaffected simplicity of

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manner could have prevented the metre from being unsuitable to the theme. It is possible that the *Divine Pastoral*, as well as its mundane predecessor, may have been in the mind of Roger Comberbach, when he addressed to his "Colin" the lines already adverted to (cf. *ante*, vol i. p. 412, and see *Remains*, ii. 555-7), where he bids the shepherds

"cease to grieve for fancied Pan ;

Behold, the Almighty Lord, your Shepherd, comes !"

The assertion is safe that of all the Psalms none has surpassed the *Twenty-Third*, on which Byrom founded his *Divine Pastoral*, in the effect, at once intense and wide-spread, which it has exercised upon many generations of readers and hearers. Its opening words suggest the whole of the idea developed in the remainder of the Psalm, and clothe it in a figure of the most touchingly familiar pathos. In the words of the late Dean Stanley, while the question may be left open, how far David's early shepherd life actually produced any of the existing Psalms, "it can hardly be doubted that it suggested some of their most peculiar imagery. The Twenty-third Psalm, the first direct expression of the religious idea of a shepherd, afterwards to take so deep a root in the heart of Christendom, can hardly be parted from this epoch. As afterwards in its well-known paraphrase by Addison,—who found in it, throughout life, the first expression of his own devotions—we seem to trace the poet's allusion to his own personal dangers and escapes in his Alpine and Italian journeys, so the imagery in which the Psalmist describes his dependence on the shepherd-like Providence of God must be derived from the remembrance of his own crook and staff, from some green oasis or running stream in the wild hills of Judæa, from some happy feast spread with flowing oil and festive wine beneath the rocks, at the mouth of some deep and gloomy ravine, like those which look down through the cliffs overhanging the Dead Sea." (Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church*, vol. ii. (1865), pp. 51-2.)

Nowhere was this Psalm more likely to assert its power, than in a pastoral country like Scotland. There exists an early Scottish version of a German rendering of it, belonging to as early a date as 1568 ; and the version introduced into the *Scottish Psalter* of 1650, beginning "The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want," but apparently founded on a version by Francis Ross (1641), commencing "My Shepherd is the living Lord," has been described as in Scotland "the first religious verse

learnt" at a mother's knee, and often the last repeated before entering 'the valley of the shadow of death.'" (Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (1892), p. 1154.) The German original of the Scottish version of 1568, as well as of a later English version dated 1754, and used by the Moravians, is Wolfgang Meusel's *Der Herre ist mein treuer Hirt* (Augsburg, 1531), which served as the basis for a later German version by Bartholomæus Ringwaldt, who wrote in the latter part of the same century. The hymn beginning "The Lord my pasture shall prepare," which appeared in the *Spectator*, No. 441, on July 26th, 1712, is the first of the series of hymns usually and it would seem, as the result of much controversy, correctly attributed to Addison. Later English reproductions are those of Dr. Watts ("The Lord my Shepherd is, I shall be well supplied"), Miss Anne Steele ("The Lord, my Shepherd and my Guide"), J. Conder ("Jesus my Shepherd is," afterwards "The Lord my Shepherd is"), Miss Manington, W. House Groser, H. F. Lyte ("The Lord of all my Shepherd is"), and Sir H. W. Baker ("The King of Love my Shepherd is"). (Collected from the *Dictionary of Hymnology*.)

It will of course be noticed that Byrom's stanzas are neither a mere translation, nor properly speaking a paraphrase, of *Psalms* xxiii. but introduce, with skilful ease, reminiscences from other *Psalms*,—thus in the beautiful l. 52—

"That the Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof"

a reference to *Ps.* xxiv. i., and elsewhere (I fancy) recollections of *Ps.* xlv., and perhaps of other *Psalms*.

The *Divine Pastoral* is here printed in substance as in A, the text of which is essentially the same as that "inserted by desire" as "an authenticated and correct copy of" the poem "set to music" in the *Supplement for the year 1762 to The Christian's Magazine, or A Treasury of Divine Knowledge*, printed for J. Newberry, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Churchyard, &c., p. 610. The poem had been previously printed in the issue of this Magazine for November, 1762, pp. 517-8; but the variations in this text appear to have induced either the author or some other person in possession of the original text to impart it to the editor for insertion with the musical score. But to all intents the same text, with its numerous and mostly inept variations, as that given in *The Christian's Magazine* for November, 1762, had already made its appearance in *The Literary Magazine* (printed for J. Wilkie, London) for March, 1758, pp.

133-4, preceded by the following letter "*To the Authors of the LITERARY MAGAZINE* : "

" Gentlemen,

The following sacred poem is an original piece, written by the celebrated Doctor *Byrom*, author of that admired pastoral in the *Spectator*, '*My Time, O ye Muses, was happily spent, &c.*' And as it is every way equal to that in sweetness, simplicity, purity, and easy flow of style, I doubt not but you will think it worthy of a place in your valuable collection of literary curiosities.

I am, Gentlemen, Yours, &c.

Manchester, 6 March, 1758.

T. B."

Copies of each of these three Magazine prints of the *Divine Pastoral* were most obligingly lent to me by Mr. W. Wiper, who purchased them at the late Mr. Crossley's sale. All three bear marks of having belonged to Byrom, or to his daughter.

The variations under my text marked "*L. M.*" are those of the version of the poem in *The Literary Magazine*; those marked "*C. M.*" are those of the version in *The Christian's Magazine* for November, 1762.]

# I.

THE Lord is my Shepherd, my Guardian, my Guide ;  
 Whatsoever I want He will kindly provide ;  
 Ever since I was born, it is He that hath crown'd  
 The Life that He gave me with Blessings all round.  
 While yet on the Breast a poor Infant I hung,  
 Ere Time had unloosen'd the Strings of my Tongue,  
 He gave me the Help which I could not then ask ;  
 Now therefore to thank Him shall be my Tongue's Task !

# II.

Thro' my tenderest Years with as tender a Care  
 My Soul like a Lamb in His Bosom He bare ; 10  
 To the Brook He would lead me, whene'er I had need,  
 And point out the Pasture where best I might feed.

2 Whatever I.—*L. M.*

8 But now to be grateful shall.—*L. M.*

No Harm could approach me ; for He was my Shield  
From the Fowls of the Air and the Beasts of the Field ;  
The Wolf, to devour me, would oftentimes prowl ;  
But the Lord was my Shepherd, and guarded my Soul.

III.

How oft in my Youth have I wander'd astray,  
And still He hath brought me back to the right Way !  
When, lost in dark Error, no Path I could meet,  
His Word like a Lantern hath guided my Feet. 20  
What wond'rous Escapes to His Kindness I owe,  
When, rash and unthinking, I sought my own Woe !  
My Soul had long since been gone down to the Deep,  
If the Lord had not watchèd, when I was asleep.

IV.

Whensoe'er, at a Distance, He sees me afraid,  
He skips o'er the Mountain, and comes to my Aid ;  
Then leads me back gently, and bids me abide  
In the midst of His Flock, and feed close by His Side.  
How safe in His keeping, how happy and free,  
Could I always remain where He bids me to be ! 30  
Yea, blest are the People, and happy thrice-told,  
That obey the Lord's Voice, and abide in His Fold !

V.

The Fold it is full, and the Pasture is green ;  
All is Friendship and Love, and no Enemy seen.  
There the Lord dwells amongst us upon His own Hill,  
With the Flocks all around Him awaiting His Will ;

24 Watched me, when.—*L.M.*

26 He flies o'er.—*L.M.*

33 Fold is capacious, the.—*B.*

35 And the mountains around with His presence doth fill.—*L.M.*

25 Whene'er at.—*L.M.*

31 Happy twice-told.—*L.M.*

*Ib.* The pastures are.—*L.M.*

Himself in the Midst with a provident Eye  
Regarding our Wants, and procuring Supply ;  
An Abundance springs up of each nourishing Bud,  
And we gather His Gifts, and are filled with Good.

40

## VI.

At His Voice or Example we move or we stay ;  
For the Lord is Himself both our Leader and Way.  
The Hills smoke with Incense where'er He hath trod,  
And a sacred Perfume shows the Footsteps of God.  
While blest with His Presence, the Valleys beneath  
A sweet smelling Savour incessantly breathe ;  
The Delight is renew'd of each sensible Thing,  
And beheld in their Bloom all the Beauties of Spring.

## VII.

Or, if a quite different Scene He prepare,  
And we march thro' the Wilderness, barren and bare,  
By His wonderful Works we see plainly enough,  
That the Earth is the Lord's, and the Fulness thereof.  
If we hunger and thirst, and are ready to faint,  
A Relief in due Season prevents our Complaint ;  
The Rain at His Word brings us Food from the Sky,  
And Rocks become Rivers, when we are a-dry.

50

39, 40 He prepareth all things for our safety and food,  
We gather.—*L.M.*

41 When He leads forth the flock, we all gladly obey.—*L.M.*

46 Savour do constantly breathe.—*L.M.*

47 He reneweth the face of each living thing.—*L.M.*

48 And behold in their Bloom all the Beauty of Spring.—*A.*

And beheld in their bloom is the beauty of spring.—*B.*

And the glad earth enjoys a perpetual spring.—*L.M.*

53 Hunger or thirst.—*C.M.*

When hungry and thirsty we're ready to faint.—*L.M.*

54 He seeth our need, and prevents.—*L.M.*

55 Brings us bread.—*L.M.*

VIII.

From the fruitfulest Hill to the barrenest Rock,  
The Lord hath made all for the Sake of His Flock ;  
And the Flock, in Return, the Lord always confess  
In Plenty their Joy, and their Hope in Distress. 60  
He beholds in our Welfare His Glory display'd,  
And we find ourselves blest in Obedience repaid ;  
With a cheerful Regard we attend to His Ways ;  
Our Attention is Pray'r, and our Cheerfulness Praise.

IX.

The LORD is my Shepherd,—what then shall I fear ?  
What Danger can frighten me, whilst He is near ?  
Not, when the Time calls me to walk thro' the Vale  
Of the Shadow of Death, shall my Heart ever fail ;  
Tho' afraid, of myself, to pursue the dark Way,  
Thy Rod and Thy Staff be my Comfort and Stay ; 70  
For I know, by Thy Guidance, when once it is pass'd,  
To a Fountain of Life it will bring me at last.

X.

The LORD is become my Salvation and Song ;  
His Blessing shall follow me all my Life long.  
Whatsoever Condition he places me in,  
I am sure 'tis the best it could ever have been.  
For the LORD, He is good, and His Mercies are sure ;  
He only afflicts us in order to cure.  
The LORD will I praise, while I have any Breath,  
Be content with my Life, and resign'd at my Death ! 80

58 For the sake of.—*L.M.*

62 And we think ourselves happy when he is obey'd.—*L.M.*

66 Can fright me when he is still near.—*L.M.*

67 Time comes that we pass thro'.—*L.M.*

76 I know 'tis the best that could.—*L.M.*

79 The Lord I will.—*L.M.*

75 Whatever condition.—*L.M.*

78 He only afflicteth in.—*L.M.*

80 Be content all my.—*L.M.*

## A THANKSGIVING-HYMN.

[I am unable to date this piece, but inasmuch as it is in the same metre and style as the preceding and the ensuing, I have left it in the place which it occupies in the old editions. The *Thanksgiving-Hymn*, after opening with the same apostrophe as *Psalms* xcvi. and xcviil., in its first stanza paraphrases the first four verses of *Ps.* xcv. (the *Venite* of our Morning Prayer); as it proceeds, it paraphrases passages of other *Psalms*, notably of *Ps.* civ. (v. 19 in *ll.* 17-18, vv. 1-2 in *l.* 19, v. 15 in *l.* 36), *Ps.* cvii. (vv. 23-9 in *ll.* 41-9, v. 1 in *l.* 68), and *Ps.* cl. (v. 6 in *l.* 80). This list may not be exhaustive, but it suffices to show the kind of mosaic of which this charming piece consists.]

## I.

COME, let us sing to the Lord a new Song,  
 And praise Him to whom all our Praises belong ;  
 While we enter His Temple with Gladness and Joy,  
 Let a Psalm of Thanksgiving our Voices employ ;  
 O come, to His Name let us joyfully sing ;  
 For the Lord is a great and omnipotent King :  
 By His Word were the Heav'ns and the Host of them made,  
 And of all the round World the Foundation He laid !

## II.

He plac'd in the Centre yon beautiful Sun  
 And the Orbs that about him due Distances run ; 10  
 To receive, as they haste their vast Rounds to complete,  
 Of a Lustre so dazzling the Light and the Heat.  
 What Language of Men can the Brightness unfold  
 Of His Presence, Whose Creature they cannot behold ?  
 What a Light is His Light ! Of Its infinite Day  
 The Sun by his Splendour can paint but a Ray.

*A Thanksgiving Hymn.*

9

III.

The Sun in the Evening is out of our Sight,  
And the Moon is enlighten'd to govern the Night.  
His Power we behold in yon high-archèd Roof,  
When the Stars in their Order shine forth in its Proof. 20  
While the Works, so immense, of Thy Fingers we see,  
And reflect on our Littleness, Lord, what are we ?  
Yet, while 'tis our Glory Thy Name to adore,  
Even Angels of Heav'n cannot boast any more.

IV.

Praise the Lord, upon Earth, all ye Nations and Lands,  
Ye Seasons and Times, that fulfil His Commands ;  
Let His Works in all Places His Goodness proclaim,  
And the People who see them give Thanks to His Name !  
For the Good, which He wills to communicate, brings 30  
Into visible Form His invisible Things ;  
Their Appearance may change, as His Law shall ordain,  
But the Goodness That forms will for ever remain.

V.

What a World of good Things does all Nature produce,  
Which the Lord in His Mercy hath made for our Use !  
The Earth, by His Blessing bestow'd on its Soil,  
By His Rain and His Sunshine, gives Corn, Wine, and Oil.  
Let Men to adore Him, then, thankfully join,  
When fill'd with His Bread, or made glad by His Wine ;  
As in Wealth, so in Gratitude, let them abound,  
And the Voice of His Praise be heard all the World round ! 40

VI.

They that o'er the wide Ocean their Bus'ness pursue,  
Can tell to His Wonders what Praises are due.

C



When, tost to and fro by the huge swelling Wave,  
 They rise up to Heav'n, or sink down to the Grave ;  
 Dismay'd with the Tempest, that mocks at their Skill,  
 They cry to the Lord, and He maketh it still.  
 His Works in Remembrance, ye Mariners, keep,  
 And praise Him Whose Judgments are like the great Deep !

## VII.

He stilleth the Waves of the boisterous Sea,  
 And the Tumults of Men, more outrageous than they. 50  
 Thy Goodness, O Lord, let the People confess,  
 Whom Wars do not waste, nor proud Tyrants oppress ;  
 And devoutly contéplate Thy wonderful ways,  
 Thou that turnest the Fierceness of Men to Thy Praise !  
 Then Lands, in due Season, shall yield their Increase,  
 And the Lord give His People the Blessings of Peace.

## VIII.

The Lord He is high, far above all our Thought,——  
 How then shall we worship Him so as we ought ?  
 What Tongue can express, or what Words can shew forth,  
 The Praise which is due to His excellent Worth ? 60  
 Ye Righteous, and ye that in Virtue excel,  
 Begin the glad Task which becomes you so well !  
 The Lord shall be pleas'd when He heareth your Voice,  
 And in His own Works shall th'Almighty rejoice.

## IX.

The Lord hath His Dwelling far out of our View,  
 And yet humbleth Himself to behold what we do ;  
 To His Works all around Him His Mercies extend ;  
 His Works have no Number, His Mercies no End.  
 He accepteth our Thanks, if the Heart do but pay ;  
 Tho' we never can reach Him, by all we can say. 70

How just is the Duty, how pure the Delight,  
Since, whilst we give Praises, we Honour Him right!

X.

Praise the Lord, O my Soul! All the Pow'rs of my Mind,  
Praise the Lord, Who hath been so exceedingly kind;  
Who spareth my Life and forgiveth my Sin,  
Still directeth the Way that I ought to walk in!  
When I speak, let me thank Him; whenever I write,  
The Remembrance of Him let the Subject excite;  
Guide, Lord, to Thy Glory my Tongue and my Pen;  
Yea, let ev'ry Thing praise Thee! — Amen, and Amen! 80

---

A HYMN ON THE DIVINE OMNIPRESENCE.

[This beautiful paraphrase of *Psalm cxxxix.*, vv. 1–22, was written by Byrom on or before March 3rd, 1724; see his letter of that date to his wife (*Remains*, i. 70): “I am not yet quite got out of the grave humour I have been in of late, but I hope I shall soon, since it begins to vent itself in poetry, as you may see on the other side, where you'll find that beautiful description in the 139th Psalm comes very prettily into our sort of verse.” The verses themselves are given at the end of the letter under the title *The Omniscience and Omnipresence of God. Psalm 139.* The variations in this copy are entered under my text with the mark R.

On April 22nd, 1725, Byrom writes: “The Duchess of Grafton had my Tunbridge verses and my Psalm.” (See *ib.*, i. 122).]

I.

O Lord, Thou hast known me and searchèd me out;  
Thou see'st at all Times what I'm thinking about  
When I rise up to Labour, or lie down to Rest,  
Thou markest each Motion that works in my Breast.

My Heart has no Secrets but what Thou can'st tell ;  
 Not a Word in my Tongue but Thou knowest it well ;  
 Thou see'st my Intention before it is wrought ;  
 Long before I conceive it, Thou knowest my Thought.

## II.

Thou art always about me, go whither I will ;  
 All the Paths that I take to, I meet with Thee still. 10  
 I go forth abroad, and am under Thine Eye ;  
 I retire to myself, and, behold ! Thou art by.  
 How is it that Thou hast encompass'd me so,  
 That I cannot escape Thee, wherever I go ?  
 Such Knowledge as this is too high to attain ;  
 'Tis a Truth which I feel, tho' I cannot explain.

## III.

Whither, then, shall I flee from Thy Spirit, O Lord ?  
 What Shelter can Space from Thy Presence afford ?  
 If I climb up to Heav'n, 'tis there is Thy throne ;  
 If I go down to Hell, even there Thou art known ; 20  
 If for Wings I should mount on the Morning's Swift Ray,  
 And remain in the uttermost Parts of the Sea,—  
 Even there, let the Distance be ever so wide,  
 Thy Hand would support me, Thy right Hand would guide.

## IV.

If I say, "Peradventure, the Dark may conceal  
 What Distance, tho' boundless, is forc'd to reveal,"—

11 Under Thy Eye.—R.

14 That Thy hand is upon me, wherever.—R.

12 I retire to my closet, and.—R.

19 'Tis there by Thy throne.—R.  
 Heav'n, lo ! there by.—B.

22 *The Sea.* Pronounce "Say." It is diphthongs *ea* and *ei* from Byrom's, or from  
 needless to illustrate this sounding of the other contemporary verse.

Yet the Dark, at Thy Presence, would vanish away,  
And my Cov'ring, the Night, would be turn'd into Day.  
It is I myself only who could not then see,—  
Yea, the Darkness, O Lord, is no Darkness to Thee ;      30  
The Night and the Day are alike in Thy Sight,  
And the Darkness to Thee is as clear as the Light.

---

## GOD THE ONLY TRUE TEACHER.

### A FRAGMENT.

[I have called this stanza a "fragment," since metre and subject alike render it likely that the author intended to develop his thought at length in the manner of the *Hymn on the Divine Omnipresence*, in sequence to which I have accordingly ventured here to insert it. The stanza, which alone was composed or preserved, seems to all intents and purposes a cento of *Ps. cxix., vv. 104-5* and *130*, and *Ps. xxvii., vv. 1* and *4*.]

THE Lord is my Light ; by His Teaching I learn  
With a right Understanding His Works to discern.  
While I dwell in His Presence, 'tis then that I live,  
And enjoy a Content which He only can give.  
In all other Things I have labour'd to find  
That Truth which might fill an intelligent Mind ;  
But I labour'd in vain ; for it is He alone  
That can give me Instruction, and make Himself known.

---

## A PARAPHRASE ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

[The earliest modern English metrical version of the Lord's Prayer seems to have been D. (or R.) Cox's transcript of Luther's *Vater unser im*

*Himmelreich*, appended to an English Psalter published in 1560, of which the only extant copy is at Christ Church, Oxford. This version was reprinted in the celebrated *Psalter* of 1561 among the *Hymns* printed after the *Psalms*, and another version of the Lord's Prayer, signed N., was included among the *Hymns* printed before the *Psalms*. The purpose of these hymns, which are versifications of the canticles and other portions of the Liturgy, was "to associate the *Psalter* with the Prayer-book, and so take away Genevan suspicions." (See Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* (1892), pp. 859, 1541.)

Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 80) contains Erasmus' *Precatio Dominica in septem portiones distributa*, woodcuts, Basel, 1523.]

*Our Father which art in Heaven.*

"FATHER"—to think of His paternal Care  
 Is a most sweet Encouragement to Pray'r.  
 "Our Father"—all Men's Father—to remind  
 That we should love, as Brethren, all Mankind.  
 "Which art in Heaven"—assures an heav'nly Birth  
 To all His loving Children upon Earth.

*Hallowed be Thy Name.*

"Name"—is expressive of a real Thing,  
 With all the Pow'rs of which it is the Spring.  
 "Thy Name"—is therefore to be understood:  
 "Thy Blessèd Self, Thou Fountain of all Good." 10  
 "Be Hallowèd"—be lov'd, obey'd, ador'd,  
 By inward Pray'r habitually implor'd.

*Thy Kingdom come.*

"Kingdom"—of Grace at present, Seed and Root  
 Of future Glory's everlasting Fruit.  
 "Thy Kingdom"—not the World's War-shifted Scene  
 Of Pomp and Show, but Love's all-peaceful Reign.  
 "Come"—rule within our Hearts, by Grace Divine,  
 Till all the Kingdoms of the World be Thine.

*A Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer.* 15

*Thy Will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven.*

"*Thy Will*"—to ev'ry Good that boundless Pow'rs  
Can raise, if we conform to it with ours. 20  
"*Be done in Earth*,"—where Doing of His Will  
Promotes all Good, and overcomes all Ill.  
"*As 'tis in Heav'n*,"—where all the Blest above  
Serve with one Will the Living Source of Love.

*Give us this Day our daily Bread.*

"*Give us*"—implies Dependence, whilst we live,  
Not on ourselves, but what He wills to give.  
"*This Day*"—cuts off all covetous Desire  
Of more, and more than real Wants require.  
"*Our daily Bread*"—whatever we shall need,  
And rightly use, to make it *Ours* indeed. 30

*And forgive us our Trespases.*

"*Forgive*"—betokens penitential Sense,  
And Hope for Pardon, of confess'd Offence.  
"*Us*"—takes in all, but hints the special Part  
Of ev'ry one, to look to his own Heart.  
"*Our Trespases*,"—which the forgiving Grace,  
By our sincere Conversion, must efface.

*As We forgive them that trespass against Us.*

"*As We forgive*,"—because the fairest Claim  
To Mercy pray'd for is to shew the same,  
And we who pray should all be minded thus  
To pardon them—" *that trespass against Us.*" 40  
Without forgiving, Christ was pleas'd to add,  
Our own Forgiveness never can be had.

*The Poems of John Byrom.**And lead us not into Temptation.*

"*Temptation*"—rises in this World, the Field  
 Of Good and Evil, and incites to yield.  
 "*Lead us not into it*"—becomes the Voice  
 Of all, who would not go to it by Choice ;  
 Whose Resignation, mix'd with meek Distrust  
 Of their own Strength, is more securely just.

*But deliver Us from Evil.*

"*But*"—when Temptation will, of course, arise,  
 The Hand that leads can minister Supplies. 50  
 "*Deliver Us*"—instructs the Soul to place  
 Its firm Reliance on protecting Grace.  
 "*From Evil*,"—from the greatest Evil, Sin ;  
 The only one not to be safely in.

*For Thine is the Kingdom, the Power, and the Glory.*

"*Thine is the Kingdom*,"—the essential Right  
 To sov'reign Rule and Majesty and Might.  
 "*Thine is the Pow'r*"—to bless and to redeem ;  
 All else is weak whatever it may seem.  
 "*Thine is the Glory*,"—manifestly found  
 In all Thy Works, the whole Creation round. 60

*For Ever and Ever.*

"*For Ever*"—from an unbeginning Source  
 Almighty Love pursues Its endless Course.  
 Through all its Scenes, Eternity displays  
 New Wonders to our Heav'nly Father's Praise.  
 King, Father, Leader, Judge, His Hallow'd Name  
 Was, is, and ever shall be, still the same

*Amen.*

"*Amen*"—is "Truth," in Hebrew ; and "Consent  
To Truth receiv'd" by its long Use is meant.  
Jesus, Himself the Truth, the Living Way,  
The Faithful Witness, teaches us to pray. 70  
Again should we be learning and again,  
Till Life becomes a practical "*Amen*."

---

THE COLLECT FOR ADVENT SUNDAY.

ALMIGHTY God, Thy Heavn'ly Grace impart,  
And cast the Works of Darkness from our Heart ;  
Send us Thy Light, and arm us for the Strife  
Against all Evils of this mortal Life,  
O'er which our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, Thy Son,  
With great Humility the Conquest won :  
That, when in Glory our Victorious Head  
Shall come to judge the Living and the Dead,  
We may thro' Him to Life immortal spring,  
Wherein He reigns, the Everlasting King ; 10  
The FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT may adore,  
One glorious GOD TRIUNE, for evermore !

---

A HYMN FOR CHRISTMAS DAY.

[I print this *Hymn* (which has a mystic force of its own) in the place occupied by it in the old editions, more especially as very possibly the opening of the famous *Hymn* which there as here follows it, may have been suggested by the first of these stanzas.]

I.

ON this auspicious, memorable Morn,  
God and the Virgin's Holy Child was born ;

D



Offspring of Heav'n, Whose undefil'd Birth  
 Began the Process of redeeming Earth,—  
 Of re-producing Paradise again  
 And God's lost Image in the Souls of Men.

## II.

Adam, who kept not his first State of Bliss,  
 Render'd himself incapable of this ;  
 Nor could he, with his outward Helpmate Eve,  
 This pure, angelic, virgin Birth retrieve :  
 This, in our Nature, never could be done,  
 Until a Virgin should conceive a Son.

10

## III.

Mary, prepar'd for such a chaste Embrace,  
 Was destin'd to this Miracle of Grace ;  
 In her unfolded the mysterious Plan  
 Of Man's Salvation, God's becoming Man ;  
 His Power, with her Humility combin'd,  
 Produc'd the Sinless Saviour of Mankind.

## IV.

The Height and Depth of such Amazing Love  
 Nor can we measure, nor the Blest above ;  
 Its Truth whoever reasons right will own :  
 Man never could be sav'd by Man alone ;  
 Salvation is, if rightly we define,  
 Union of Human Nature with Divine.

20

## V.

What Way to this, unless it had been trod  
 By the new Birth of an Incarnate God ?

Birth of a Life, That triumphs over Death,  
A Life inspir'd by God's Immortal Breath ;  
For which Himself, to save us from the Tomb,  
Did not abhor the Virgin Mother's Womb.

30

VI.

O may this Infant Saviour's Birth inspire  
Of real Life an humble, chaste Desire ;  
Raise it up in us, form it in our Mind,  
Like the Blest Virgin's, totally resign'd !  
A mortal Life from Adam we derive ;  
We are in Christ eternally alive.

---

A HYMN FOR THE SAME.

[The Chetham Library at Manchester preserves in the Librarian's Room, carefully framed, the original *MS.* of this famous Hymn. To the title "*Christmas Day*" are added in pencil the words "*For Dolly*." The verses were, therefore, designed by Byrom as a Christmas gift to his daughter Dorothy (born April 26th, 1730 ; died, unmarried, September 19th, 1797). Mr. Walter T. Browne, of the Chetham Hospital, has been good enough to furnish me with an accurate copy of this unique document ; the variations in it from my text are marked beneath it with the letters *O.MS.* Unfortunately, the printer has not been able to reproduce the author's interlined corrections in the same *MS.*, but I have asterisked below the text the lines in which they occur.

In a letter dated October 12th, 1886, the late Mr. J. E. Bailey, writes : "I lately got an original broadside copy of the *Christians awake*, most likely printed by Orion Adams at Smithy Door. It has a wood-cut, and is very carefully printed, showing I think that Byrom corrected it. The paraphrase of *Hebrews*, i., is printed in

another column beside the *Christmas Hymn*. It is stitched up with Adams' *Manchester Weekly Paper* for 1751; and as on Christmas Eve 1750 the organist Wainwright and the singing-men and boys of the Old Church came before Byrom's door to sing the *Hymn*, this may be the date of its composition and sudden popularity. Mr. Macray of Oxford . . . says the *Hymn* has been sung at Christmas for a length of time at his parish of Ducklington, near Witney. It is commonly said not to be popular outside Lancashire."

Mr. Julian, in his *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 231, states that "the popular form, in which the hymn compiled from Byrom's poem now appears, as in *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, was given to it in Cotterill's *Selection of Psalms and Hymns*, eighth edition, 1819, No. 212. This was repeated by James Montgomery in his *Christian Psalmist*, 1825. From these two works it has passed into most collections now in use in English-speaking countries. There are also other centos in common use. An altered version, beginning 'With songs of praise salute,' &c., is found in T. Darling's *Hymns*, &c. The original text, with which all centos should be compared, appears in *Lyra Britannica*, 1867, p. 116."

In *Hymns Ancient and Modern* the hymn is arranged in six eight-line stanzas. I have marked the variations in this version with the letters *A.* and *M.* There is a somewhat different version in the Hymn-book published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

The best known setting of "*Christians, awake!*" is that by the above-mentioned R. Wainwright, Mus.D.]

CHRISTIANS, awake! Salute the happy Morn  
Whereon the SAVIOUR of the World was born!  
Rise, to adore the Mystery of Love,  
Which Hosts of Angels chanted from above;  
With them the joyful Tidings first begun  
Of GOD Incarnate, and the Virgin's Son.  
Then to the watchful Shepherds it was told,  
Who heard th' Angelic Herald's Voice: "Behold!  
I bring good tidings of a SAVIOUR'S Birth  
To you and all the Nations upon Earth;

10

8 Who.\*

9 \*O. MS.

10 And all the Nations of the Earth.—\*O. MS.

This Day hath GOD fulfill'd his promis'd Word ;  
 This Day is born a SAVIOUR, CHRIST the LORD.  
 In *David's* City, Shepherds, ye shall find  
 The long-foretold Redeemer of Mankind ;  
 Wrapt up in swaddling-clothes, the Babe Divine  
 Lies in a Manger ; this shall be your Sign."  
 He spake, and straightway the Celestial Choir  
 In Hymns of Joy, unknown before, conspire ;  
 The Praises of Redeeming Love they sung,  
 And Heav'n's whole Orb with Hallelujah's rung. 20  
 " GOD's highest Glory " was their Anthem still,  
 " Peace upon Earth, and mutual Goodwill ! "  
 To *Bethlehem* straight th' enlightened Shepherds ran  
 To see the Wonder GOD had wrought for Man ;  
 And found, with *Joseph* and the Blessèd Maid,  
 Her Son, the SAVIOUR, in a Manger laid.  
 Amaz'd, the wond'rous Story they proclaim,  
 The first Apostles of his Infant Fame ;  
 While MARY keeps and ponders in her Heart  
 The heav'nly Vision which the Swains impart. 30  
 They to their Flocks, still praising GOD, return  
 And their glad Hearts within their Bosoms burn.

- 11 \**O. MS.*      12 \**O. MS.*      13 \**O. MS.*      13-16 *Om.—A. and M.*  
 14 Wrapt up in swaddling clothes, be this the Sign,  
     A cratch contains the holy Babe divine.—*O. MS.*  
 22 And unto men good-will.—*A. and M.*  
 25 *seqq.* They saw their Saviour, as the Angel said,  
     The swaddled Infant in a Manger laid.  
     Joseph and Mary, a distressed Pair,  
     Guard the sole Object of th' Almighty's Care ;  
     To human Eyes none present but they two,  
     Where Heav'n was pointing its concentrated View.  
     Amaz'd, &c.—*O. MS.*  
 27 \**O. MS.*      27-30 *Om.—A. and M.*      31 They to their Flocks, and  
 praising God.—*O. MS.*      *Ib.* Then to their.—*A. and M.*      32 With Hearts,  
 no doubt, that did within them burn.—*O. MS.*      *Ib.* Hearts with holy rapture  
 burn.—*A. and M.*

Let us, like these good Shepherds, then, employ  
 Our grateful Voices to proclaim the Joy ;  
 Like *Mary*, let us ponder in our Mind  
 GOD'S wond'rous Love in saving lost Mankind.  
 Artless and watchful as these favour'd Swains,  
 While Virgin Meekness in the Heart remains,  
 Trace we the Babe, who has retriev'd our Loss,  
 From His poor Manger to His bitter Cross ; 40  
 Treading His Steps, assisted by His Grace,  
 Till Man's first heav'nly State again takes Place !  
 Then, may we hope, th' Angelic Thrones among,  
 To sing, redeem'd, a glad Triumphal Song.  
 He That was born upon this joyful Day  
 Around us all His Glory shall display ;  
 Sav'd by His Love, incessant we shall sing  
 Of Angels and of Angel-men the King.

33-4 *Om.—A. and M.*      35 O may we keep and ponder.—*A. and M.*

37-8 *Om.—A. and M.*

41-2 Follow we him who has our Cause maintain'd,

And Man's first heav'nly State shall be regain'd.—*O. MS.*

41 Tread in His.—*A. and M.*

42 Till, changed like Him, we see him face to face.—*S.P.C.K.*

43 Th' Angelic hosts among.—*A. and M.*

48 Eternal praise to heaven's Almighty King.—*A. and M.*

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## ON THE EPIPHANY.

[In an interesting letter, evidently addressed to Miss Elizabeth Byrom, and printed in *Remains*, ii. 612-3, the Rev. Frederick Vernon, D.D., Rector of St. George's, Bloomsbury, after advising his correspondent to collect as many of her father's poetical compositions as possible, proceeds: "Sacred things have of late been his favourite subjects. What you showed me on the Passion and Birth of our Saviour are truly grand performances. I here send you one upon the next festival, the

*Epiphany*, which I could wish the Doctor to improve upon." Inasmuch as Mr. Vernon's verses evidently suggested Byrom's hymn, they are here subjoined. It cannot be said that Byrom's poem (which I have felt unwilling to separate from his other hymns on the Church Festivals) is one of his happier efforts of the kind, the line which distinguishes simplicity from dulness not being always observed in it.

Bishop Heber's beautiful Epiphany hymn, *Brightest and best of the sons of the morning*, which the editors of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* have excluded from their collection, need not be called to mind by way of contrast.

ON THE EPIPHANY.

To see The Christ the Magi came from far,  
To Him conducted by His new-form'd star.  
Off'rings of gold and fragrant gums they bring,—  
By this a God confess'd, by that a King.  
O may the lights which in His Gospel shine  
From error lead us into truths Divine,  
And show the danger in the ways we trod,—  
From sin and Satan turn us unto God !  
Let all His empire own, proclaim His sway, }  
Attend His preaching and His laws obey }  
And by good works a constant tribute pay,— }  
A gift which heaven with joy far greater fills  
Than all the cattle on ten thousand hills !

F. V—N.]

I.

LED by the Guidance of a living Star,  
The Eastern Sages travell'd from afar  
To seek the Saviour, by prophetic Fame  
Describ'd to them as "King of Jews" by Name ;  
Whose Birth to Gentiles worthy of His Sight  
Was now declar'd by this angelic Light.

1 seqq. *Led by the Guidance, &c.* See 6. *The Magi.* The term *οἱ μάγοι* used by St. Matthew, ii. 1-12, and compare the by St. Matthew (ii. 7) and translated "the wise men" in our Version, is held to point,

## II.

To its full Height th' Expectancy had grown  
 Of what the learnèd Foreigners made known,  
 When at Jerusalem the sacred News  
 Was spread by them to Herod and the Jews. 10  
 "Where is He born? For by His Star," they said,  
 "Thus far to worship Him have we been led."

## III.

Herod, who had in his tyrannic Mind  
 No Thought of Empire but of earthy Kind,  
 Jealous of this new King of Jewish Tribes,  
 In Haste assembl'd all the Priests and Scribes;  
 Where Christ was to be born, was his Demand.  
 "In Bethlehem," they said, "in Judah's Land."

## IV.

He call'd the Magi privately again,  
 To learn from them the Time precisely, when 20  
 The Star which had conducted them appear'd;  
 And, having all his wily Questions clear'd,  
 Bade them to seek the Child, and from the View  
 Come, and tell him, that he might worship too.

## V.

They journey'd on to the appointed Place,  
 Which Jewish Priests from Prophecy could trace,  
 Cheer'd by the Star's Appearance on the Way,  
 That pointed where the Infant Saviour lay.

together with the "wise men's" following the guidance of a star, to their having come from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, where astronomy was early cultivated by the Chaldæans, and where the old Zend religion of Zoroaster had been established by the Persians. See SIR WILLIAM SMITH'S *New Testament History*.

Meekly they stepp'd into His humble Shrine,  
And fell to worshipping the Babe Divine.

30

VI.

The Virgin Mother saw them all prefer  
Their Off'rings, Gold, and Frankincense, and Myrrh ;  
But warn'd of God, His Father, in a Dream,  
They disappointed Herod's murd'rous Scheme ;  
And, having seen the Object of their Faith,  
Sought their own Country by another Path.

VII.

Does not Reflexion justly hence arise,  
That in the East, so famous for the Wise,  
The truest Learning, Sapience and Skill  
Was theirs, who sought amidst the various Ill  
Which they beheld for that predicted Scene,  
That should on Earth commence an heav'nly Reign ?

40

VIII.

These true Enquirers into Nature saw  
That Nature must have some superior Law,  
Some righteous Monarch, for the Good of all,  
To rule with Justice this disorder'd Ball ;  
Their humble Sense of Wants, o'erlook'd by Pride,  
Made them so worthy of the Starlike Guide.

IX.

We read how, then, the very Pagan School  
Was fill'd with Rumours of a Jewish Rule.

50

49, 50. *The very Pagan School* preserved the hope of a great deliverer,  
*Was fill'd with Rumours of a Jewish Rule.* who should reform the world and establish  
"The religion of Zoroaster, remaining a reign of peace. That some tradition,  
pure from the grosser forms of idolatry, influenced possibly by the Jews of the

E



Tho' Jews themselves, as at this present Day,  
 Dreamt of a worldly domineering Sway,  
 The truly wise, or Jew or Gentile, sought  
 A Christ, the Object of an happier Thought.

## X.

They best could understand prophetic Page,  
 Simple or learn'd, the Shepherd or the Sage ;  
 Their Eyes could see, and follow a true Light,  
 That led them on from Prophecy to Sight ;  
 Could own the Son, Who by the Father's Will  
 Should reign a King on Sion's holy Hill.

60

## XI.

Of Treasures which the Wise were mov'd to bring,  
 If Gold presented might confess the King,  
 Incense to his Divinity relate,  
 And Myrrh denote his bitter, suff'ring State,—  
 They offer'd Types of the Theandric Plan  
 Of our Salvation, God's becoming Man.

## XII.

In this redeeming Process all concurr'd  
 To give sure Proof of the prophetic Word ;

dispersion, went so far as to make this deliverer a 'King of the Jews,' seems a fair inference from the direct form of their enquiry for Him." (*Ib.*)

62 *seqq.* *If Gold presented might confess the King.* So, in "Earth has many a noble city," a popular version of *O sola magnarum urbium* (a cento from Prudentius' *Quicumque Christum queritis*; see Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 946):

"Sacred gifts of mystic meaning :

Incense doth their GOD disclose,  
 Gold the King of kings proclaimeth,  
 Myrrh his sepulchre foreshows."

This stanza is much superior to the following stanzas of the English hymn.

65. *Theandric.* The word, which is explained in the next line, seems to be of purely theological manufacture, as well as of very rare use.

Of all Mankind who seek the Truth aright,  
 Forms in the Heart of all the Wise on Earth  
 The true Day-Star, the Token of His Birth.  
 69, 70. *Jesus, Emmanuel, the inward Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.* (*St. John, i. 9.*)  
*Light, Of all Mankind.* "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." (*Id., 12.*)  
 "Emmanuel" (*Isaiah vii. 14; viii. 8*)  
 "which being interpreted is, God with us." (*St. Matthew, i. 23.*) "That was the true

## MEDITATIONS FOR EVERY DAY IN PASSION-WEEK.

[It will be noted that Byrom uses the designation Passion-Week for the week next before Easter. The *Sarum Missal* contains a special collect for the second, third, fourth, and fifth days of this week.]

### MONDAY.

*God in CHRIST is all Love.*

#### I.

BEHOLD the tender Love of God! Behold  
 The Shepherd dying to redeem His Fold!  
 Who can declare it? Worthy to be known,  
 What Tongue can speak it worthily? His Own.  
 From His Own Sacred Lips the Theme began,  
 The glorious Gospel of God's Love to Man.

#### II.

So great, so boundless was It, that He gave  
 His Only Son,—and for what End?—To save,

### MONDAY.

7, 8. So great, so boundless was It, that He gave his only begotten Son, that whoso-  
 He gave ever believeth in him should not perish,  
 His Only Son. but have eternal life." (*St. John, iii. 16;*  
 "For God so loved the world, that he and of. *1st Epistle of St. John, iv. 9.*)

Not to condemn. If Men reject the Light,  
 They, of themselves, condemn themselves to Night ; 10  
 God in His Son seeks only to display  
 In ev'ry Heart an everlasting Day.

## III.

"God hath so shown His Love to us," says *Paul*,  
 "Even yet Sinners, that Christ died for all ;"  
*Peter*, that God's All-gracious Aim is this,  
 By *Christ*, to call us to eternal Bliss.  
 Of all th' inspir'd to understand the View,  
 Love is the Text, and Love the Comment too.

## IV.

The Ground to build all Faith and Works upon ;  
 For "God is Love," says the belovèd *John*,— 20  
 Short Word, but Meaning infinitely wide,  
 Including all that can be said beside ;  
 Including all the joyful Truths above  
 The Pow'r of Eloquence, for "God is Love."

## V.

Think on the Proof that *John* from *Jesus* learn'd :  
 "In this was God's Amazing Love discern'd,  
 Because He sent His Son to us, that we

13 *seqq.* "God hath so shown His Love to us," says *PAUL*, &c. "But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." (*Epistle to the Romans*, v. 8.) being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." (1st *Epistle of St. Peter*, iii. 18.)

14 *seqq.* *PETER*, that God's All-gracious Aim is this, &c. "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God," 20. "God is Love," says the belovèd *JOHN*. "He that loveth not, knoweth not God ; for God is love." (1st *Epistle of St. John*, iv. 8.)

26 *seqq.* "In this was God's Amazing Love discern'd," &c. See note to ll. 7, 8, *ante*.

Might live thro' Him!" How plain it is to see  
That, if in this, in ev'ry other Fact,  
Where God is Agent, Love is in the Act ;

30

VI.

Essential Character (whatever word  
Of diff'rent Sound in Scripture has occur'd)  
Of all that is ascrib'd to God, of all  
That can by His Immediate Will befall :  
The Sun's bright Orb may lose its shining Flame,  
But Love remains unchangeably the same.

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TUESDAY.

*How CHRIST quencheth the Wrath of GOD in us.*

I.

THE Saviour died, according to our Faith,  
To quench, atone, or pacify a Wrath.  
But "God is Love ;" He has no Wrath His Own ;  
Nothing in Him to quench or to atone.  
Of all the Wrath that Scripture has reveal'd,  
The poor fall'n Creature wanted to be heal'd.

II.

God, of His own pure Love, was pleas'd to give  
The Lord of Life, that thro' Him it might live,—

TUESDAY.

4. *Nothing in Him to quench or to atone.* their hands ; therefore my wrath shall be  
The reference is to the phraseology of such  
passages as ii. *Kings*, xxii. 17 : "Because  
they have forsaken me, and have burnt in-  
cense unto other gods, that they might  
provoke me to anger with all the works of  
be found in Byrom's theology.

Thro' *Christ*; because none other could be found  
 To heal the human Nature of its Wound. 10  
 This great Physician of the Soul had, sure,  
 In Him, Who gave Him, no Defect to cure.

## III.

He did, He suffer'd ev'ry Thing, that we  
 From Wrath, by Sin enkindled, might be free,—  
 The Wrath of God in us, that is, the Fire  
 Of burning Life without the Love-Desire,  
 Without the Light which *Jesus* came to raise,  
 And change the wrath into a joyful Blaze.

## IV.

The Wrath is God's, but in Himself unfelt;  
 As Ice and Frost are His, and Pow'r to melt. 20  
 Not even Man could any Wrath, as such,  
 Till he had lost his first Perfection, touch;  
 God has but One Immutable Good-will,  
 To bless His Creatures and to save from Ill.

## V.

Cordial or bitter a Physician's Draught,  
 The Patient's Health is in his ord'ring Thought;  
 God's Mercies or God's Judgments be the Name,  
 Eternal Health is His all-saving Aim.  
 "Vengeance belongs to GOD,"—and so it should,  
 For Love alone can turn it all to Good. 30

22. *Till he had lost his first Perfection.* we know him that hath said, Vengeance  
 Before the Fall; before man became tainted belongeth unto me, I will recompense,  
 with Sin. saith the Lord." (*Epistle to the Hebrews*,

29. "Vengeance belongs to GOD." "For x. 30.)

VI.

All that in Nature by His Act is done,  
Is to give Life, and Life is in His Son.  
When His Humility, His Meekness finds  
Healing Admission into willing Minds,  
All Wrath disperses, like a gath'ring Sore ;  
Pain is its Cure, and it exists no more.

---

WEDNESDAY.

*CHRIST satisfieth the Justice of GOD by fulfilling all Righteousness.*

I.

“JUSTICE demandeth Satisfaction.”—Yes,  
And ought to have it where Injustice is.  
But,—there is none in God ; it cannot mean  
Demand of Justice where it has full Reign :  
To dwell in Man it rightfully demands,  
Such as he came from his Creator's Hands.

II.

Man had departed from a righteous State,  
Which he at first must have, if God create.  
'Tis therefore call'd “God's Righteousness,” and must  
Be satisfy'd by Man's becoming just ; 10  
Must exercise good Vengeance upon Men,  
Till it regain Its Rights in them again.

WEDNESDAY.

9. 'Tis therefore called “God's Righteous- made the righteousness of God in him.”  
ness.” “For he hath made him to be sin (2nd *Epistle to the Corinthians*, v. 21 ; and  
for us, who knew no sin ; that we might be see also *Epistle to the Philippians*, iii. 9.)

## III.

This was the Justice for which *Christ* became  
 A Man, to satisfy Its righteous Claim ;  
 Became Redeemer of the Human Race,  
 That Sin in them to Justice might give Place.  
 To "satisfy" a just and righteous Will  
 Is neither more nor less than to "fulfill."

## IV.

It was in God the loving Will that sought  
 The Joy of having Man's Salvation wrought ; 20  
 Hence, in His Son so infinitely pleas'd  
 With Righteousness fulfill'd and Wrath appeas'd—  
 Not with mere Suff'ring which He never wills,  
 But with mere Love That triumph'd over Ills.

## V.

'Twas tender Mercy,—by the Church confess'd,  
 Before she feeds the sacramental Guest,  
 Rememb'ring Him Who offer'd up His Soul  
 "A Sacrifice for Sin, full, perfect, whole,  
 Sufficient, satisfactory,"—and all  
 That Words (how short of Merit!) can recall. 30

## VI.

And when receiv'd His Body and His Blood,  
 The Life enabling to be just and good,—

28. "*A Sacrifice for Sin, full, perfect, whole,*  
*Sufficient, satisfactory.*" sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world."  
 ("Prayer of Consecration in the Communion Service.")  
 "Who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and 32. *The Lifeenabling.* Enabling the life.

Off'ring available thro' Him alone,  
Body and Soul a Sacrifice her own,  
From Him, from His,—so, Justice has Its due,  
Itself restor'd, not any thing in Lieu.

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THURSDAY.

*CHRIST the Beginner and Finisher of the New Life in Man.*

I.

**D**EAD as Men are in Trespasses and Sins,  
Whence is it in them that new Life begins?  
'Tis that, by God's great Mercy, Love and Grace  
The Seed of *Christ* is in the Human Race,—  
That inward, hidden Man, that can revive  
And, "dead in *Adam*, rise in *Christ* alive."

II.

Life natural and Life Divine possess'd  
Must needs unite, to make a Creature bless'd,—  
The first, a feeling Hunger and Desire  
Of what it cannot of itself acquire ;  
Wherein the second entering to dwell,  
Makes all an Heav'n that would be else an Hell.

10

III.

As only Light all Darkness can expel,  
So was His Conquest over Death and Hell

THURSDAY.

6. "Dead in ADAM, rise in CHRIST in Christ shall all be made alive." (1st  
alive." "For as in Adam all die, even so *Epistle to the Corinthians*, xv. 22.)

F



The only possible, effectual Way  
 To raise to Life what *Adam's* Sin could slay.  
 Death by the falling, by the Rising Man  
 The Resurrection of the Dead, began.

## IV.

This Heav'nly Parent of the human Race  
 The Steps that *Adam* fell by could retrace ; 20  
 Could bear the Suff'rings requisite to save ;  
 Could die, a Man, and triumph o'er the Grave.  
 This for our Sakes Incarnate Love could do ;  
 Great is the Mystery, and greatly true.

## V.

Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs and the Choir  
 Of holy Virgin Witnesses conspire  
 To animate a Christian to endure  
 Whatever Cross God gives him for his Cure,—  
 Looking to *Jesus* Who has led the way  
 From Death to Life, from Darkness into Day. 30

## VI.

Unmov'd by earthly Good or earthly Ill,  
 The Man *Christ Jesus* wrought God's Blesséd Will ;  
 Death, in the Nature of the Thing, that Hour  
 Wherein He died, lost all its deadly Pow'r ;  
 Then, then was open'd, by what He sustain'd,  
 The Gate of Life, and Paradise regain'd.

26. *Conspire*. Cf. in the *Hymn for* In Hymns of Joy, unknown before,  
*Christmas Day*, ll. 17-18, *ante*, p. 21 : conspire."  
 "straightway the Celestial Choir

FRIDAY.

*How the Sufferings and Death of CHRIST are available to Man's Salvation.*

I.

WITH Hearts deep-rooted in Love's Holy Ground  
Should be ador'd this Mystery profound  
Of God's Messiah suff'ring in our Frame,  
The Lamb *Christ Jesus*—blessed be His Name!—  
Dying in this Humanity of ours,  
To introduce His own Life-giving Pow'rs.

II.

Herein is Love ! Descending from His Throne,  
The Father's Bosom, for our Sakes alone,  
What Earth, what Hell, could wrathfully unite  
Of Ills, He vanquish'd with enduring Might ; 10  
Legions of Angels ready at Command,  
Singly He chose to bear and to withstand :—

III.

To bear, intent upon Mankind's Relief,  
Ev'ry Excess of ev'ry Shame and Grief,—  
Of inward Anguish past all Thought severe,  
Such as Pure Innocence alone could bear.  
Dev'lish Temptation, Treachery, and Rage,  
Naked, for us, did Innocence engage.

IV.

Nail'd to a Cross It suffer'd, and forgave ;  
And show'd the Penitent Its Pow'r to save ; 20

FRIDAY.

11. *Legions of Angels ready at Command.* and he shall presently give me more than  
See *St. Matthew*, xxvi. 53 : "Thinkest twelve legions of angels?"  
thou that I cannot now pray to my Father,

Its Majesty confess'd by Nature's Shock,  
 Darkness and Earthquake, and the rended Rock,  
 And opening Graves,— the Prelude to that Pow'r  
 Which rose in Suff'ring Love's momentous Hour.

## V.

No other Pow'r could save, but *Jesus* can ;  
 The Living God was in the Dying Man ;  
 Who, perfected by Suff'rings, from the Grave  
 Rose in the Fulness of all Pow'r to save,  
 With that one blessed Life of God to fill  
 The vacant Soul that yieldeth up its Will.

30

## VI.

To learn is ev'ry pious Christian's Part  
 From his great Master this most Holy Art ;  
 This our high Calling, Privilege, and Prize :  
 With Him to suffer, and with Him to rise,—  
 To live,—to die,—meek, patient, and resign'd  
 To God's good Pleasure with a Christ-like Mind.

21. *Nature's Shock.* "And, behold, did quake, and the rocks rent; and the  
 the veil of the temple was rent in twain, graves were opened." (*St. Matthew, xxvii.*  
 from the top to the bottom; and the earth 51-2.)

## SATURDAY.

*How CHRIST by his Death overcame Death.*

## I.

**J**ESUS is crucified,—the previous Scene  
 Of our Salvation and His glorious Reign—  
 Mysterious Process,—though by Nature's Laws,

## SATURDAY.

1, 2. *The previous Scene Of our Salvation.* The scene preceding the redemption of man.

Such an Effect demanded such a Cause ;  
For none but He could form the grand Design,  
And raise anew the human Life Divine !

II.

No less a Mystery can claim Belief  
Than what belongs to our Redeeming Chief.  
Divine and Supernatural indeed  
The Love that mov'd the Son of God to bleed ;      10  
But what He was and did, in each Respect,  
Was real Cause producing its Effect.

III.

Children of *Adam* needs must share his Fall,  
Children of *Christ* can re-inherit All.  
This was the One, and therefore Chosen, Way  
For Love to manifest its full Display.  
Absurd the Thought of arbitrary Plans ;  
Nature's one, true Religion this,—and Man's !

IV.

All that we know of God, and Nature too,  
Proves the Salvation of the Gospel true ;      20  
Where all unites in One Consistent Whole,  
The Life of God renew'd within the Soul,—  
Renew'd by *Christ* : He only could restore  
The Heav'n in Man to what it was before ;

V.

Could raise God's Image, clos'd in Death by Sin,  
And raise Himself, the Light of Life, therein,—

17. *Absurd the Thought.*    Absurd is the thought.

The One Same Light that makes angelic Bliss ;  
 That spreads an Heav'n thro' Nature's whole Abyss,—  
 The Light of Nature, and the Light of Men,  
 That gives the Dead His Pow'r to live again. 30

## VI.

"The Way, the Truth, the Life,"—whatever Terms  
 Prefer'd, 'tis Him that ev'ry Good affirms  
 The One True Saviour ; all is Dung and Dross  
 In saving Sense, but *Jesus* and His Cross.  
 All Nature speaks, all Scripture answers thus :  
 "Salvation is the Life of CHRIST in us."

31. *The Way, the Truth, the Life.* "I am the way, and the truth, and the life : no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." (*St. John*, xiv. 6.)  
 32. *Ev'ry Good.* Everything that is good.  
 33, 34. *All is Dung and Dross, &c.* "For whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ." (*Epistle to the Philippians*, iii. 8.)

## EASTER COLLECT.

[A Paraphrase of the Collect for Easter-Day.]

**A**LMIGHTY God, Whose Blessèd Will was done  
 By Jesus Christ, our Lord, Thine Only Son,—  
 Death overcome, and open'd unto Men  
 The Gate of everlasting Life again,—  
 Grant us, baptis'd into His Death, to die  
 To all Affections but to Things on high ;  
 That when, by Thy preventing Grace, we find  
 The good Desires to rise within our Mind,  
 Our Wills may tend as Thine shall still direct,  
 And bring the good Desires to good Effect 10  
 Thro' Him, the One Redeemer from the Fall,  
 Who liv'd and died and rose again for all !

## EASTER DAY.

## I.

THE Morning dawns ; the third approaching Day  
 Can only show the Place where *Jesus* lay.  
 Angels descend :—"Remember what He said !  
 He is not here, but risen from the dead :  
 'Betray'd into the Hands of sinful Men,  
 The Son of Man must die, and rise again.'"

## II.

So sang the Prophets ever since the Fall ;  
 Of Rites ordain'd the Meaning this thro' all.  
 This, by the various Sacrifice of old,  
 Memorial Type and Shadow, was foretold ;

10

1. *The Morning dawns, &c.* See *St. Matthew*, xxviii. 1 : "In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week."

2. *Can only show the Place where Jesus lay.* Can only show the empty sepulchre.

3 *seqq. Angels descend* : "Remember what He said," &c. See *St. Luke*, xxiv.

4-7 : "Two men stood by them in shining garments . . . they said unto them, Why seek ye the living among the dead ? He is not here, but is risen : remember how he spake unto you when he was yet in Galilee, saying, The Son of man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and the third day rise again."

7. *So sang the Prophets ever since the Fall.* In prosaic phrase, to this a chain of prophetic evidence testifies since the Fall. It is argued by Sherlock in the *Third* of his *Discourses on Prophecy* (cf. below, *An Epistle to a Gentleman of the*

*Temple*), that "the word of prophecy came in," when after their Fall our first parents were left without any sure hopes or comfort from natural religion and in fearful expectation of God's judgment. The first prophecy to be found in the Old Testament therefore forms part of the sentence passed on the Tempter (*Genesis*, iii. 15).

9. *The various Sacrifice of old.* Beginning, according to some, with the offering made by Abel. See Sherlock, *u.s.*, p. 59 : "We read that 'Cain brought an offering of the fruit of the ground, and Abel of the firstlings of his flock, and the fat thereof : the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering ; but unto Cain he had no respect.' Allowing the maxim of the Jewish church to have been good from the first institution of sacrifice, 'that without blood there is no remission,' the case may possibly be this : Abel came a petitioner for grace and pardon, and brought the atonement ap-

Even false worship, careless what it meant,  
Gave to this Truth an ignorant Consent.

## III.

Christ is the Sum and Substance of the whole  
That God has done or said to save a Soul,  
To raise himself a Church ; when that is done,  
The World becomes the Kingdom of his Son,  
An Heav'n restor'd to the redeem'd, the born  
Of Him Who rose on this auspicious Morn.

## IV.

He That was dead, in order to restore,  
Behold, He is alive for evermore,—  
An heav'nly *Adam*, full empow'rd to give  
The Life that Men were first designed to live ;  
Fountain of Life, come whosoever will  
To quench his Thirst, and freely take his Fill !

20

pointed for sin ; Cain appears before God as a just person wanting no repentance ; he brings an offering in acknowledgment of God's goodness and bounty, but no atonement in acknowledgment of his own wretchedness. The expostulation of God with Cain favours this account . . . Add to this, that the Apostle to the Hebrews says, [xi. 4] 'that Abel's sacrifice was rendered excellent by faith ;' what could this faith be, but a reliance on the promises and appointments of God, which faith Cain wanted, relying on his well-doing."

Later "types," such as the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, explain themselves more briefly.

11. *Even false Worship.* By the usage of sacrificing that which has life.

17, 18. *the born*

*Of Him.*

Those born of Him, regenerate in Him.

19, 20. *He that was dead, &c.* "I am he that liveth, and was dead ; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen." (*Rev.* i. 18.)

21. *An heav'nly Adam.* See 1st *Epistle to the Corinthians*, xv. 45 : "And so it is written, The first man Adam was made a living soul ; the last Adam was made a quickening spirit."

23, 24. *Fountain of Life, &c.* "I will give unto him that is athirst of the fountain of the water of life freely." (*Revelation*, xxi. 6 ; and cf. *St. John*, iv. 7, *seqq.*)

*An Hymn for Easter Day.*

41

V.

Mankind in Him are Life's predestin'd Heirs,  
His rising Glories the First-fruits of theirs.  
Hearts that renounce the Slavery to Sin,  
Feel of His Pow'r the living Warmth within,  
Of strength'ning Faith, of joyous Hope possess  
And Heav'n-producing Love within the Breast,—

30

VI.

The Breast,—the Temple of the Holy Ghost,  
When once enliven'd by this heav'nly Host.  
His Resurrection, the sure Proof of ours,  
Will there exert His Death-destroying Pow'rs ;  
Till all his Sons shall meet before His Throne  
In glorious Bodies, fashion'd like His Own.

36. *In glorious Bodies, fashion'd like His Own.* it may be fashion'd like unto his glorious body." (*Epistle to the Philippians*, iii. 21).

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AN HYMN FOR EASTER DAY.

I.

**T**HE LORD *is risen* ! He who came  
To suffer Death, and conquer too,  
*Is risen* ! Let our Song proclaim  
The Praise to Man's REDEEMER due :—

To Him Whom GOD in *tender* LOVE,  
Always alike to bless inclin'd,  
Sent to redeem us from above ;  
To *save*, to *sanctify* Mankind !

G



## CHORUS.

*Worthy of all Pow'r and Praise*  
*HE Who died and rose again,* 10  
*Lamb of GOD, and slain to raise*  
*MAN, to Life redeem'd !—AMEN.*

## II.

That Life which *Adam* ceas'd to live,  
 When to this World he turn'd his Heart,  
 And to his Children could not give,  
 The SECOND ADAM *can* impart.

We, on our *earthly* Parent's Side,  
 Could but receive a Life of Earth ;  
 The LORD from HEAVEN, He liv'd, and died,  
 And rose, to give us *Heav'nly* Birth. 20

CHO. *Worthy of all Pow'r and Praise, &c.*

## III.

This mortal Life, this living Death,  
 Shows that in *Adam* we all die ;  
 In CHRIST we have Immortal Breath  
 And Life's *Unperishing* Supply.

HE took our Nature, and sustain'd  
 The *Mis'ries* of its sinful State ;  
*Sinless* HIMSELF, for Us regain'd  
 To Paradise an Open Gate.

CHO. *Worthy of all Pow'r and Praise, &c.*

22, 23. *In ADAM we all died.* "For as be made alive." (*1st Epistle to the Corinthians*, xv. 22).  
 in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all *thians*, xv. 22).

*An Hymn for Easter Day.* 43

IV.

As *Adam* rais'd a Life of Sin,  
So CHRIST, the Serpent-bruising Seed, 30  
By GOD'S Appointment could begin  
The Birth in Us of LIFE *indeed*.

He did begin, Parental Head ;—  
As *Adam* fell, so JESUS stood ;  
*Fulfill'd* all Righteousness, and said,  
" 'Tis FINISH'D ! " on the Sacred Wood.

CHO. *Worthy of all Pow'r and Praise, &c.*

V.

Finish'd *His* Work, to quench the Wrath  
That SIN had brought on *Adam's* Race ;  
To pave the *Sole* and Certain Path  
From *Nature's* Life to that of *Grace* ! 40

For Joy of *this*, GOD'S Only SON  
Endur'd the *Cross*, despis'd the *Shame*,  
And gave the Victory *so* won,  
For *imitating* LOVE to claim.

CHO. *Worthy of all Pow'r and Praise, &c.*

VI.

To tread the Path that JESUS trod,  
Aided by Him, be our Employ ;  
To *die* to Sin, and *live* to GOD,  
And yield him the fair-purchas'd Joy ;

42, 43. *For Joy of THIS, &c.* " Who down at the right hand of the throne of  
for the joy that was set before him endured God." (*Hebrews*, xii. 2).  
the cross, despising the shame, and is set

To all the Laws that LOVE has made  
 Stedfast, unshaken to attend!—  
 He died, He rose, *Himself* our Aid,  
 “*Lo! I am with you to the End.*”

50

## CHORUS.

*Worthy of all Pow'r and Praise*  
*HE who died and rose again,*  
*Lamb of GOD, and slain to raise*  
*MAN, to Life redeem'd!—AMEN.*

52. “*Lo! I am with you to the End.*” with you alway, even unto the end of the  
 See *St. Matthew*, xxviii. 20: “*Lo, I am world.*”

## ON WHITSUNDAY.

[The view of the Pentecostal miracle here taken—that the descent of the Holy Spirit enabled those who received the gift to speak in a tongue intelligible to *all* their hearers,—is developed at great length by Byrom in his *Four Epistles to the Rev. Mr. L*— [Lancaster], *late Vicar of Bowdon, &c., infra.*]

## I.

JESUS, ascended into Heav'n again,  
 Bestow'd this wond'rous Gift upon good Men :  
 That various Nations, by his Spirit led,  
 All understood what Galileans said.  
 He gave the Word, Who form'd the list'ning Ear,  
 And Truth became in ev'ry Language clear.

## II.

One Country's Tongue, to His Apostles known,  
 To ev'ry pious Soul became its own ;

*On Whitsunday.*

45

The well-dispos'd, from all the World around,  
With holy Wonder, heard the Gospel-Sound, 10  
Their Hearts prepar'd to hear it ; God's Command  
No Obstacle in Nature could withstand.

III.

Nature itself, if ev'ry Heart was right,  
All jarring Languages would soon unite.  
Her's is but one, intelligible Guide ;  
But Tongues are numberless, where Hearts divide.  
The Babel-Projects bring them to their Birth,  
And scatter Discord o'er the Face of Earth.

IV.

The Prince of Peace now sending from above  
His Holy Spirit of Uniting Love, 20  
By Its Miraculous Effusion show'd,  
How great a Pow'r He promis'd and bestow'd,—  
Pow'r to reverse Confusion, and impart  
One living Word to ev'ry honest Heart.

V.

Deaf to its Influence the Wicked stood,  
And mock'd the just Amazement of the Good,  
For want of Sense ascribing to new Wine  
Their joint Acknowledgments of Grace Divine.  
The World's devout Epitome was taught,  
And hid from Pride the Miracle, when wrought;— 30

27. *Ascribing to new Wine.* "Others  
mocking said, These men are full of new  
wine." (*Acts*, ii. 13.)

29. *The World's devout Epitome.* "There  
were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men,  
out of every nation under heaven." (*Ib.*, 5.)

## VI.

Known to the Meek, but from the Worldly-Wise,  
 From Scoffers, hid the wonderful Supplies  
 Of God's good Spirit, now as near to Men  
 Whose Hearts are open to the Truth as then.  
 Blest, in all Climates, all Conditions, they  
 Who hear this inward Teacher and obey!

## ON TRINITY SUNDAY.

## I.

**C**O-EQUAL *Trinity* was always taught  
 By the Divines most fam'd for pious Thought.  
 The Men of Learning fill'd, indeed, the Page  
 With dissonant Disputes, from Age to Age ;  
 But with themselves, so far as one can read,  
 About their Schemes are not at all agreed,  
 When they oppos'd, by Reason or by Wrath,  
 This grand Foundation of the Christian Faith.

## II.

For what more fundamental Point, or grand,  
 Than our ascending Saviour's own Command :  
 "Go and baptise all Nations in the Name"—  
 Of Whom, or What? (For thence the surest Aim  
 Of Christian Doctrine must appear the most)—  
 "The Name of FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST?"  
 Our Lord's Interpretation here we see,  
 Of, "Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me."

10

11 *seqq.* *Go and baptise*, &c. "Go ye there- the name of the Father, and of the Son, and  
 fore, and teach all nations, baptising them in of the Holy Ghost." (*St. Matt.*, xxviii. 19.)

III.

For can the Phrase, so Highly Sacred, show  
The Name of God to be omitted ? No !  
By its essential Trinity exprest,  
It show'd what Faith *Christ* will'd to be profest. 20  
One God the *Jews* had own'd, and one Supreme,  
With others lower, was the *Pagan* Theme ;  
How One was true, and how Supreme profan'd,  
Our Lord's *baptismal* Ordinance explain'd.

IV.

The One Divinity of Father, Son,  
And Spirit, teaches Christian Thought to shun  
Both *pagan* and *rabbinical* Mistake,  
And understood what holy Prophets spake  
Or in the Ancient Writings or the New,  
To which this Doctrine is the sacred Clue ; 30  
That so conducts us to the saving Plan  
Of true Religion as no other can.

V.

For, were the Son's Divinity denied,  
The Father's must, of course, be set aside,  
Or be a dark one.—How can It be Bright,  
But by Its own Eternal, Inborn Light ?  
The Glory of the Father is the Son,  
Of all His Powers begotten, or begun,  
From all Eternity ; take Son away,  
And what the Father can delight in, say ! 40

23. *How Supreme profan'd.* How the epithet "Supreme" was profan'd by its pagan application. "*Deus Optimus Maximus*" is itself a designation of heathen origin.

27. *Both PAGAN and RABBINICAL Mistake.* Both the mistake that there are more Gods than One, and the mistake that there is only one person in the Deity.

## VI.

The Love, Paternally Divine, implies  
 Its proper Object whence It must arise,  
 That is, the Son ; and so the Filial, too,  
 Implies Paternal Origin in View ;  
 And hence the third distinctly glorious Tie  
 Of Love, which Both are animated by.  
 All is one God, but He contains Divine,  
 Living Relations, evidently *Trine*.

## VII.

So far from hurting *Unity*, that hence  
 The Fulness rises of Its perfect Sense, 50  
 And ev'ry barren, spiritless Dispute  
 Against Its Truth is pluck'd up by the Root.  
 The Faith is solid to repose upon :  
 Father, Word, Spirit, Undivided One ;  
 By Whom Mankind, of Threefold Life possest,  
 Can live and move and have its Being blest ;—

## VIII.

Not by *Three* Gods,—or One supremely great  
 With two *Inferiors*,—or the wild Conceit  
 “God, *Michael, Gabriel*,”—or aught else, devis'd 60  
 For Christians in no *Creature's* Name baptis'd ;

57. *Not by THREE Gods, &c.* See the Athanasian Creed. As is well said by Hagenbach, the reproach of setting up a plurality of Gods, which has been so often urged against the orthodox doctrine, falls rather upon Arius, who, to put it briefly, conceived of a Second God, dependent upon the First, by Whose side He was placed, or rather, to Whom He was subordinated. The heresy which regarded the Holy Ghost as a created being, was that of Macedonius, condemned by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.  
 58, 59. *The wild Conceit,*  
*God, MICHAEL, GABRIEL.*  
 “In 1731 appeared a strange book, called the *Essay on Spirit*, of which” Robert Clayton, afterwards through the influence of Queen Caroline and Lady Sundon successively bishop of Killaloe, Cork, and

But of the whole inseparable THREE  
Whose Fertile Oneness causes all to be,  
And makes an Heav'n thro' Nature's whole Abyss  
By its Parental, Filial, Spirit Bliss.

Clogher "was either the genuine or the adopted father. The object of this book was to set forth a strange kind of metaphysical fetichism. Every particle of active and attractive matter, it seems, has a spirit united to it to direct its movements. The whole universe is thus replete with spirits. God governs through this vast hierarchy of subordinate beings, of which Christ or the Logos, who is identified with David's Archangel Michael, is the head." The author of this work in 1756 moved in the Irish House of Lords for an omission of

the Athanasian and Nicene Creeds from the Liturgy of the Church of Ireland. A prosecution was duly commenced against him in 1757, but he died before the time appointed for a meeting on the subject of the Irish Prelates. (See LESLIE STEPHEN, *History of English Thought*, &c., ii. 421-2.)

Byrom, who ought to have known my late honoured friend Balfour Stewart, seems to have been interested in such speculations. See in the *Catalogue* of his Library (pp. 21, 150) the titles of the works of Balthasar Bekker and Joseph Mede.

## ON THE SAME.

### I.

"ONE God the Father."—Certainly, this Term  
Does not a barren Deity affirm  
Without the Son,—without the Native Light,  
By which Its Fiery Majesty is Bright,—  
Without the Spirit of the Fire and Flame  
Of Life Divine, eternally the same.

### II.

More *One* than any Thing beside can be,  
Because of Its inseparable Three ;

1. "*One God the Father.*" "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." (*Epistle to the Ephesians*, iv. 6.) In the *Communion Service*, the words "Holy Father" are ordered to be omitted after the words "O Lord" in the thanksgiving "It is very meet, right, &c.

H



Which Nothing can diminish, or divide,  
 Tho' it should break all Unity beside. 10  
 For This, as self-begetting, self-begot,  
 And to Itself proceeding, It can not.

## III.

This total Oneness of Its Threefold Bliss,  
 Life, Light, and Joy of Nature's vast Abyss,  
 No Tongue so well can utter ; but the Mind  
 That seeks for somewhat to object, may find  
 No End of Questions, if we must contest  
 A Truth by Saints of ev'ry Age exprest.

## IV.

The Church did always, always will, agree  
 In its one Worship of the Holy Three,— 20  
 As taught by *Christ*, that Unity Divine  
 Was full and perfect, that is, Unitrine.  
 He said : " Baptise all Nations, and proclaim  
 Of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the Name!"

## V.

The "Holy! Holy! Holy!" of the Host  
 Of Heav'n is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ;  
 Not "Holy! Holier!" and "Holiest!"  
 But One Tri-une, Same Holiness confest,—  
 One God, One Loving and Belovèd Love,  
 On Earth below ador'd, in Heav'n above.— 30

23. *He said.* See *St. Matthew*, xxviii. Lord of hosts ;" and *Revelation*, iv. 8 :  
 19. "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty,  
 25. *The "Holy! Holy! Holy!"* See which was, and is, and is to come ;" and  
*Isaiah*, vi. 3 : "Holy, holy, holy, is the cf. the *Communion Service*.

VI.

One Living Fulness of all Perfect Good,  
Its own Essential Fountain, Stream and Flood.  
And when, according to the Christian Creed,  
Men worship God in Spirit, Word, and Deed,  
Faith, Hope, and Love's Triunity of Grace  
Will find in their true, single Heart a Place.

34. *Men worship God in Spirit.* "God is a Spirit : and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." (St. John, iv. 24.) 36. *Single Heart.* Sincere Heart. Cf. *Henry VIII.*, v. 3, 38 : "I speak it with a single heart, my lords."

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ATHEISM THE ONLY GROUND OF  
DISCONTENT.

[These lines, which are printed near the close of A and B respectively, constitute Byrom's earliest known composition in verse on a serious subject. See his letter to his intimate John Stansfield, dated April 17th, 1721, in which, being himself raised to the height of happiness by his recent marriage, he sought to cheer his friend, who appears to have been suffering from despondency (*Remains*, i. 43-5).

"My friend," he writes, "I know misfortunes make us dull, lifeless, uneasy, &c.; but I know, too, that they ought not to do so; that we are obliged to use all efforts in nature not to frustrate the intention of wiser and kinder powers to us in our circumstances. All goods are reckoned in value thus—goods of the mind, body, and fortune. Your grievances, are they not of the last sort? Are not your blessings more than your deficiencies?—why should not your gratitude and cheerfulness? But I only design now to ask you how you do, and not to talk with you about these things wherein you are fitter to be my master; yet I shall send you one argument that has been of use to me, and which, that I might familiarise to myself, I put into the following verses :

AN ARGUMENT."

(The lines ensuing are then inserted, and the writer continues :) "If you see any fallacy in this climax, as we call it, or ladder of arguing step by step, show it me; if not, what can all the volumes in the Vatican amount to, to show that we must be

easy? I mean voluntarily easy, *hoc est*, cheerful, satisfied, thankful, brisk, and be so constantly, habitually, in all times, conditions, and circumstances, &c."

A conclusion, to which so far as one can judge, Byrom faithfully adhered through life in both theory and practice.]

IF Reason does each private Person bind  
 To seek the public Welfare of Mankind ;  
 If this be Justice and the Sacred Law  
 That guards the Good and keeps the Bad in Awe ;  
 If this great Law but op'rates to fulfil  
 One Vast Almighty Being's Righteous Will ;  
 And if He Only, as we all maintain,  
 Does all Things rule and all Events ordain : —  
 Then, Reason bids each private Man t' assent  
 That none but Atheists can be discontent. 10

7 If this good Being, as.—*Remains.*

## A CAUTION AGAINST DESPAIR.

[These stanzas, which in sentiment have something in common with the previous piece, cannot be numbered among their author's happier efforts.]

### I.

DESPAIR is a cowardly Thing,  
 And the Spirit suggesting it bad ;  
 In spite of my Sins I will sing,  
 That Mercy is still to be had.

### II.

For He that has shown it so far,  
 As to give me a sensible Heart,  
 How heinous soever they are,  
 Delights in the merciful Part.

III.

By Affliction, so heavy to bear,  
He searches the Wound He would cure ; 10  
'Tis His to be kindly severe,  
'Tis mine by His Grace to endure.

IV.

O comfort thyself in His Love,  
Poor sinful and sorrowful Soul,  
Who came, and still comes, from above  
To the Sick that would fain be made whole !

V.

Who said, and continues to say,  
In the Deep of a penitent Breast :  
"Come, Sinner, to Me come away :  
I'll meet thee, and bring thee to Rest." 20

VI.

A Refusal to come is absurd ;  
I'll put myself under his Care ;  
I'll believe His Infallible Word,  
And never, no, never despair.

19, 20. *Come, Sinner, to Me, &c.* are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."  
"Come unto me, all ye that labour and (St. Matthew, xi. 28.)

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A PENITENTIAL SOLILOQUY.

[The finely expressed *mystic* sentiment of the first stanza of this poem is worthy of notice.]

I.

WHAT tho' no Objects strike upon the Sight,—  
Thy Sacred Presence is an *inward* Light.  
What tho' no Sounds should penetrate the Ear,—

To list'ning Thought the Voice of Truth is clear.  
 Sincere Devotion needs no outward shrine :  
 The Centre of an *humble* Soul is Thine.

## II.

There may I worship, and there may'st Thou place  
 Thy Seat of Mercy and Thy Throne of Grace ;  
 Yea, fix, if CHRIST my Advocate appear,  
 The dread Tribunal of Thy Justice there ! 10  
 Let each vain Thought, let each impure Desire  
 Meet in Thy Wrath with a *consuming* Fire !

## III.

Whilst the kind Rigours of a righteous Doom  
 All deadly Filth of *selfish Pride* consume,  
 Thou, Lord, can'st raise, tho' punishing for Sin,  
 The Joys of peaceful Penitence within.  
 Thy Justice and Thy Mercy both are sweet  
 That make our *suff'rings* and *Salvation* meet.

## IV.

Befall me, then, whatever God shall please!  
 His Wounds are healing, and His Grievs give Ease ; 20  
 He, like a true Physician of the Soul,  
 Applies the Med'cine that may make it whole.  
 I'll do, I'll *suffer* whatsoe'er He wills :  
 I see His Aim thro' all these transient Ills.

## V.

'Tis to infuse a *salutary* Grief,  
 To fit the Mind for *absolute* Relief,

12. *With a CONSUMING Fire.* "For our God is a consuming fire." (*Hebrews*, xii. 29.)

That, purg'd from ev'ry *false* and finite Love,  
Dead to the World, alive to Things above,  
The Soul may rise, as in its *first-form'd* Youth,  
And worship God "in *Spirit* and in *Truth*." 30

30. *And worship God "in SPIRIT and that worship him must worship him in in Truth."* "God is a Spirit : and they spirit and in truth." (*St. John*, iv. 24.)

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## FOR THE DUE IMPROVEMENT OF A FUNERAL SOLEMNITY.

[I see no reason for doubting that these are the verses referred to in Byrom's *Diary*, under the date of Wednesday, March 24th, 1725, as follows : "I writ out the verses about the Burial Service, to send to the *Plain Dealer*." (See *Remains*, i. 100, where Canon Parkinson says in a note : "Not in his works nor among his MSS.") The *Plain Dealer*, a periodical written mainly, if not wholly, by Aaron Hill (cf. *ante*, vol. i. 255 *seqq.*) and William Bond, was published in a series beginning March 23rd, 1724, and ending May 7th, 1725 ; but Mr. W. A. Shaw, who kindly searched for me, cannot find Byrom's lines in the series. A second edition of the *Plain Dealer* was published in 8vo., 1734. Lowndes' note as to this periodical seems inaccurate.]

### I.

AROUND the Grave of a departed Friend  
If due Concern has prompted to attend,  
Deep on our Minds let the affecting Scenes  
Imprint the Lesson which Attendance means ;  
For who can tell how soon his own *Adieu*  
The solemn Service may for Him renew ?

## II.

“He that believes on Me” (what *Christ* had said  
 The Priest proclaims) “shall live tho’ he were dead.”  
 To ev’ry Heart This is the gracious Call,  
 On which depends its everlasting All ; 10  
 The ever-hoping, -loving, -working Faith  
 That saves a Soul from Death’s devouring Wrath.

## III.

The patient *Job*, by such a Faith within  
 Strength’ning his Heart, could say: “This mortal Skin  
 Destroy’d, I know that my Redeemer lives.”  
 In Flesh and Blood, which His Redemption gives,  
 Job from the Dust expected to arise,  
 And stand before his God with seeing Eyes.

## IV.

The royal Psalmist saw this Life of Man,  
 How vain, how short, at its most lengthen’d Span. 20  
 Conscious in Whom the Human Trust should be,  
 “Truly my Hope,” he said, “is ev’n in Thee,”

7, 8. “HE THAT BELIEVES ON ME,” &c. The opening sentence of the *Order for the Burial of the Dead*: “I am the resurrection and the life, saith the Lord; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.” (*St. John*, xi. 25, 26.)

13 *seqq.* The patient *JOB*, &c. The second sentence in the Burial service: “I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I

see God: whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another.” (*Job*, xix. 25, 26, 27.)

19 *seqq.* The royal Psalmist, &c. See (*Psalm xxxix.*, the first of the Psalms ordered for the Burial Service to be read in the Church. “Behold, thou hast made my days as it were a span long” (v. 6). “And now, Lord, what is my hope: truly my hope is even in thee” (v. 8). “O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength: before I go hence, and be no more seen” (v. 15).

*For the Improvement of a Funeral Solemnity.* 57

And pray'd for its recover'd Strength, "before  
He went from hence, here to be seen no more."

V.

The mystic Chapter is rehears'd wherein  
*Paul* sings the Triumph over Death and Sin,—  
The glorious Body, freed from earthy Leav'n,  
Image and Likeness of the Lord from Heav'n ;  
For such th' abounding in His Work shall gain,—  
"Labour," we know, "that never is in vain." 30

VI.

Hence comes the sure and certain Hope, to rise  
In *Christ* ; tho' Man, as born of Woman, dies.  
True Life, which *Adam* died to at his Fall,  
And *Christ*, the Sinless *Adam*, can recall,  
By a New, Heav'nly Birth from Him revives,  
And breathes again God's Holy Breath of Lives.

VII.

A Voice from Heav'n bade hearing *John* record :  
"Blest are the dead, the dying in the Lord !"

25 *seqq.* *The mystic Chapter*, &c. "The lesson taken out of the fifteenth chapter of the former Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians."

29, 30. *For such th' abounding in his Work*, &c. See the last verse (58) of the chapter: "Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."

32. *Tho' Man, as born of Woman, dies.* "Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble." (*Job*, xiv. 1.)

33, 34. *True Life, which ADAM died to*, &c. "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." (*Ib.*, 22.)

36. *God's Holy Breath of Lives.* "The last Adam was made a quickening Spirit." (*Ib.*, 45.)

37 *seqq.* *A Voice from Heav'n bade hearing John record*, &c. "I heard a Voice from heaven, saying unto me, Write, From henceforth blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." (*Revelation*, xiv. 13.) See *Burial Service*.



In them the Pray'r which Man's Redeemer will'd  
 That Men should pray, is perfectly fulfill'd.  
 This perfect Sense the Words that we repeat  
 Require, to make the pray'd-for Good complete.

40

## VIII.

Thanks, then, are due for all the faithful dead,  
 Departed hence to be with *Christ* their Head,  
 And Pray'r unfainting for His : "Come, ye blest ;  
 Come, ye true Children, enter into Rest ;  
 Live in My Father's Kingdom and in Mine,  
 In Grace and Love and Fellowship Divine !"

39, 40. *In them the Pray'r*, &c. This must refer to the petition "Thy Kingdom come" in the Lord's Prayer. In the Burial Service, there follows on the Lord's Prayer a Prayer in which God is besought shortly to accomplish the number of His elect, and to hasten His Kingdom ; and this again is succeeded by the Collect, in which is cited from *St. Matthew*, xxv. 34 : "Come ye blessed children of my Father, receive the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world."

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VERSES WRITTEN UNDER A PRINT REPRESENTING THE SALUTATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

[The *Index* to B says : "From a design of Anthony Coypel." This celebrated painter (1661-1722) was the son of Noel Coypel, himself a well-known French historical painter and Academician. Antoine Coypel's reputation is held to have surpassed that of his father. His diploma picture at the Academy was *Louis XIV. au sein de la Gloire* ; but he also painted sacred pictures proper ; and his *Athalie* is at the Louvre.

The *Annunciation* of the Blessed Virgin, which seems to have been the subject of the picture described by Byrom, as it was of other even more famous pictures, is celebrated by the Church of Rome on March 25th. The *Salutation* is more usually the designation of the meeting

between Mary and Elizabeth ; see *St. Luke*, i. 40, 41 : "[Mary] saluted Elisabeth. And it came to pass, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary," &c.

The *mystic* conception of religion, and of the regeneration of man, is tersely put in the last two stanzas of this poem.]

I.

SEE represented here, in Light and Shade,  
The Angel's Visit to the blessed Maid,—  
To *Mary*, destin'd, when the Time should come,  
To bear the *Saviour* in her virgin womb,—  
Explaining to her the mysterious Plan  
Of Man's Redemption,—*His becoming Man.*

II.

When ev'ry previous Wonder had been done,  
The Virgin then was to conceive a Son ;  
And, to prepare her for the grand Event,  
From God His Father *Gabriel* was sent,  
To hail the chosen Organ of His Birth,—  
Of "*God with us*," of JESUS upon Earth.

10

III.

Unable to express celestial Things,  
Imagination adds expanded Wings

8. *The Virgin then was to conceive a Son.* See *St. Matthew*, i. 22-3 (cf. *Isaiah*, vii. 14) : "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted, is, God with us."

12. Of "GOD WITH US." See the preceding note.

14. *Imagination adds expanded Wings.* See *Isaiah*, vi. 2 : "Above it" [the throne of the Lord] "stood the seraphim : each one had six wings ; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." And cf. v. 6.

To human Form exact and beauteous Face  
Which Angels have, but with angelic Grace,  
Free from all Grossness and Defect, nor seen  
But with a pure chaste Eye, Divinely keen.

## IV.

Such *Mary's* was, whose Posture here design'd  
The most profound Humility of Mind, 20  
Modestly asking how the Thing could be,  
And saying, when inform'd of God's Decree :  
"Behold the Handmaid of the Lord! His Will  
Let Him, according to thy Word, fulfill!"

## V.

What fair Instruction may the Scene impart  
To them who look beyond the Painter's Art!  
Who in th' angelic Message from above  
See the Revealing of God's Gracious Love  
To ev'ry Soul that yields itself to all  
That pleases Him, whatever may befall! 30

## VI.

Whatever Circumstance of heav'nly Grace  
Might be peculiar to the Virgin's Case,

15. *To human Form exact.* Exactly east of the Garden of Eden were ordered proportioned. to "keep the way of the tree of life" from

17, 18. *Nor seen* all intruders (*Genesis*, iii. 24); and the  
*But with a pure, chaste Eye, Divinely keen.* Angel sent to destroy Jerusalem was visible  
I doubt whether the conception that angels alike to David, and to Ornan and his sons  
are invisible but to the Divinely illumina- (i. *Chronicles*, xxi. 16, 20).

ted sight, be not of comparatively late 19. *Such Mary's was.* Such was Mary's  
growth. It is hardly borne out by the sight.

episode of Balaam and his ass. ("And 23 *seqq.* "Behold the Handmaid of the  
Balaam said unto the Lord, I have sinned, Lord," &c. "And Mary said, Behold the  
for I knew not that Thou stoodest in the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me  
way against me." *Numbers*, xxii. 34.) according to thy word." (*St. Luke*, i.  
The cherubim placed by the Lord at the 38.)

That holy Thing that saves a Soul from Sin  
Of God's good Spirit must be born *within* ;  
For all *Salvation* is, upon the whole,  
*The Birth of JESUS in the human Soul.*

---

VERSES WRITTEN UNDER A PRINT RE-  
PRESENTING CHRIST IN THE MIDST  
OF THE DOCTORS.

[The *Index* to B says: "From a design by F. J. Andray." I take the painter in question to be Jean André, a French painter, the subjects of whose pictures seem to have been mainly religious. He was born at Paris in 1662, and died there in 1753. The thoughts of readers of a later generation will readily recur to Holman Hunt's *Finding of Christ in the Temple*, one of the most interesting pictures of our times.]

I.

ENGAG'D amidst the Doctors, here behold  
In deep Discourse a Child of twelve Years old ;  
Who show'd, whatever Question they preferr'd,  
A Wisdom That astonish'd all who heard,  
And found in asking or in ans'ring Youth  
Of Age so Tender such a Force of Truth !

II.

Observe His Mild, but Penetrating Look ;  
Those bearded Sages poring o'er their Book ;  
That meek old Priest, with placid Face of Joy ;  
That pharisaic Frowner at the Boy ;

10

5, 6. *And found*, &c. "They found them questions. And all that heard him him in the temple, sitting in the midst of were astonished at his understanding and the doctors, both hearing them, and asking answers. (*St. Luke*, ii. 46-7.)

That pensive Rabbi, seeming at a Stand ;  
That serious Matron, lifting up her Hand !

## III.

A Group of Heads, as painting Fancy taught,  
Hints at the various Attitude of Thought  
In diff'rent Hearers, all intent upon  
The Wond'rous Graces That in Jesus shone ;  
Each Aspect witnessing the same Surprise,  
From whence His Understanding should arise ?

## IV.

We know, at present, what the learnèd Jew,  
Disputing in the Temple, little knew :  
That, thro' this Child, in every Answer made  
God's Own Eternal Wisdom was display'd ;  
That their Messiah, then, the Truths instill'd,  
Which, grown to Man, He perfectly fulfill'd.

20

## V.

We know that His Corporeal Presence then  
On Earth, as Man, was requisite for Men ;  
That, by His Spirit, He is present still,  
And always was, to Men of upright Will.  
To saving Truth, whatever Doctors say,  
His inward Guidance must assure the Way.

30

## VI.

Whether His Actions therefore be portray'd  
In printed Letter or in figur'd Shade,

29. *Whatever Doctors say.* All that orthodox theologians censure in the mystic view of religion, is that it assigns an exclusive authority to the "inward Guidance."

32. *In figur'd Shade.* In an engraving. Cf. in the previous piece, l. 1 : "See represented here, in Light and Shade."

The Books, the Pictures that we read or see,  
Should raise reflexion in some due Degree,  
And serve as Memorandums to recall  
The Teacher JESUS in the Midst of All.

## HUMILITY.

[The following lines are written in shorthand on fol. 38 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, and again in shorthand, and in a rather more complete state, on fol. 128, immediately after an entry dated September 16th [1731]: "After reading Bourig. *Le Nouveau Ciel*, p. 26." This discourse (*Le Nouveau Ciel et la Nouvelle Terre*) is printed in vol. xviii. of the collected works (Amsterdam, 1686) of Antoinette Bourignon, as to whom see the *Introductory Note* to *Leslie v. Bourignon*, *infra*.

I have not been able to refer to the French treatise, but Byrom's lines are obviously of the nature of a comment rather than a paraphrase. Their sentiment at least came straight from the heart of the writer, who like Thomas à Kempis, with whom and with whose like-minded brethren he had so much in common, might have in full sincerity declared his belief that "God protects and delivers the humble; the humble He loves and comforts; to the humble man He inclines himself; to the humble He gives much grace; and after he has been cast down, raises him to glory." (*Imitatio Christi*, bk. ii. chapter ii.) "Humility" is the theme of chaps. xvi.-xix. of Law's *Serious Call*.

Byrom's lines, however, at least in so far as it has proved possible to decipher them, seem a mere fragment, and, though re-written, unfinished.]

PROFOUND Humility! Of every grace  
That virtue of a God made Man takes place,—  
Wise as an old man, simple as a child,  
Like a youth courageous, like a suckling mild;

2. *That virtue of a God made Man takes place.* That virtue, proper to the Incarnate Christ, has precedence.

Which is exalted by the deepest fall,  
 Seeks its own nothingness, and enjoys them all.  
 Fountain of every pure untainted joy,  
 Spring of perpetual sweets that never cloy !  
 True liberty of spirit fills the breast,  
 With all the riches of Heaven's Kingdom blest. 10

6. *And enjoys them all.* The construction is, to say the least, loose.

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## THE POOR IN SPIRIT.

[The lines which follow are written in shorthand on the same page of the *Chetham Library MS.* as that which contains the preceding lines on *Humility*. Above them is written "The Confirmation-Book." They clearly refer to the passage in the prayer in the Confirmation Service for those who have ratified the baptismal vows made on their behalf : "Daily increase in them Thy manifold gifts of grace ; the spirit of wisdom and understanding ; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength ; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness ; and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of Thy holy fear, now and for ever." If I have rightly conjectured "beatitudes" for "beauty" in the transcript of l. 2, there is a further direct reference to *St. Matthew*, v. 3 : "Blessed are the poor in spirit ; for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven."

"Brother John," to whom these lines are addressed, was probably John Houghton of Baguley, the husband of John Byrom's wife's sister, Mary Byrom ; though the date of their marriage appears not to be known.]

HE that [but] spoke it truly, brother John,  
 Possesses all beatitudes in one :  
 True poverty of spirit fills his breast,  
 With all the riches of Heaven's Kingdom blest.

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## LESLIE v. BOURIGNON.

[The following lines, which are to be found in shorthand on fol. 57 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, manifestly refer to the censures uttered by Charles Leslie, the celebrated non-juror and author of the *Short and Easy Method with the Deists*, upon Antoinette Bourignon's book *The Light risen in Darkness*. The dates of the letters of which this work is composed range from 1664–1671. In 1699 was published the *Apology for Mrs. Bourignon* by Dr. George Garden, a Presbyterian minister, afterwards deposed for promulgating the heresies detected in that work (*Remains*, i. 520). My copy of an English Translation (by Keith and Garden) of Mdle. Bourignon's work bears date 1703. Leslie, as a non-juring divine of great controversial power, was much respected by Byrom, whose library contains a number of his works. Of these, *The Snake in the Grass, or Satan transform'd into an Angel of Light, discovering the subtilty of the Quakers*, in its second edition, 1697, contained a preface vehemently attacking Mdle. Bourignon, and attempting to establish an organic connexion between her views and the tenets of Quakerism. In the *Chetham Library MS.* (see *Appendix ii.* to this volume), of which she might almost be said to be the heroine, will be found a clever attempt by Byrom to refute Leslie's attack sentence for sentence. From information given to Byrom by the nephew of the author of the *Apology*, it appears "that the Quakers were very fond of her" (Antoinette Bourignon's) writings "till the book against the Quakers" (Leslie's *Discourse proving the Divine Institution of Water Baptism*, 1697) "came out, and then they were not." (*Remains*, ii. 130.)

Antoinette Bourignon, whom the late Mr. J. E. Bailey described as "the supreme saint in Byrom's hagiology"—until all other human lights paled in his eyes before that of Law's (she was, to put it profanely, his Paoli before he had met his Johnson)—was in her day a very notable personage. Of her writings, which were published at Amsterdam in 1686, in nineteen 8vo. volumes, I have hardly read enough to entitle me to pronounce how far they account for the violent agitation which they excited among her contemporaries, and to what extent her views on the perfection attainable even in this life, through Grace, are to be differentiated from those of Fénelon and Mme. Guyon. The charge

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brought against her of pretending to supernatural powers was not denied by her supporters, though it may have to some extent misrepresented her own conceptions. She was left an orphan and an heiress when twenty-five years of age, and never married. Her life was one not only of ardent devotion, but also of continuous beneficence; at first in her native town of Lille, and when Jesuit influence had driven her out of France, in Hamburg, the Elbe Duchies, and Frisia, where her days came to an end at Franeker, now one of the so-called "dead cities" (with, however, in this case, a really dead University) in which, I suspect, a fair share of religious as well as other "life" survives to this day. Like Mme. Guyon, she found herself obliged to give an account of her opinions to an orthodox tribunal; but the ecclesiastical authorities of Schleswig-Holstein, to whom she proffered her plea, were either indisposed or unable to consign her to a Bastille of their own.

It is easy to understand why Law, although Mdle. Bourignon's views as to the Fall and Redemption of man have a marked affinity with his own, should have judged of her as he did in his wise and temperate letter printed in *Remains*, i. 558-560. Though he had "often read her works with great admiration of an extraordinary spirit in them," he declined either to recommend others to peruse them, or to place an interdict upon them; and, for himself, he adds:

"When I meet with some things in her writings that I can't account for either from reason or scripture, as they don't concern the substance of religion, I pass them by. They do me no hurt if I let them alone. I don't immediately conclude that either she is in such things illuminated by the Holy Spirit, or carried away by some evil one. For as I am myself a stranger to, and utterly unworthy of, that divine illumination which she pretends to, so I neither dare nor ought to pretend to say how it is or how it must be with persons in that extraordinary state which she ascribes to herself."

Law had on a former occasion spoken more decisively—but still quite temperately—of the objectionable features in the writings of Mme. Guyon and Mdle. Bourignon (*Remains*, ii. 113). To a mind which notwithstanding its imaginative power was so well-balanced as his, the extravagance that prevented these ladies from recognising their own presumptuousness, must have been specially antipathetic. (Cf. Overton, *William Law*, pp. 168-170.)

Mdle. Bourignon's fame seems to have spread largely in England in the last years of the seventeenth, and in the early part of the eighteenth,

century. Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, pp. 34-6) contains besides three more or less complete copies of the Amsterdam edition of her works, and a few detached pieces in French, a number of English translations of certain of her productions, of which the dates range between the years 1696 and 1708 (with a single exception of later date). In 1698, a year after the appearance of the second edition of *The Snake in the Grass*, Dr. John Cockburn published *Bourignianism Detected, or The Delusions and Errors of Antonia Bourignon and her growing Sect*; and in 1710, Thomas Blackwell, Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, put forth his *Ratio Sacra, or An Appeal to the Rational World about the Reasonableness of Revealed Religion, containing a Confutation of the three grand prevailing errors of the present day, Atheism, Deism, and Bourignonism*. (A copy of this latter *opus* is in Byrom's Library; see *Catalogue*, p. 31.) The notoriety achieved by her is further obvious from *The Tatler*, No. 126, where a very unsympathetic picture is drawn of "the great foundress of Pietists," who was said "by scoffers of those days," to possess, in a unique degree, "the gift of infrigidation." According to Bayle, in the life of Antoinette Bourignon in his *Dictionary*, she shared this gift with St. Joseph.]

TRUE, Leslie was a great divine, but yet  
 I think he quite mistakes my friend's intent;  
 And, with submission to so great a name,  
 His conduct is exceedingly to blame.  
 What has she done to merit all this rage?  
 Why, you shall hear. First, here's the title-page  
 For which this book must be condemned at sight.  
 What is 't? "'Tis blasphemously called 'The Light,'"

2. He wrongs—*MS.*; over which "quite mistakes" is interlineated.

3. *Title-page.* This runs as follows in the English translation:

"*The Light Risen in Darkness. In Four Parts. Being a Collection of Letters written to several Persons, upon great and Important Subjects. Very profitable for the Common Instruction and Conduct of all who seek God in Sincerity: But in a Special manner for detecting the Lamentable decay of the Life and Spirit of Christianity now at this time, and directing to the proper means of recovering it. With a large Explication of the 24. and 25 chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel.*"

Says Leslie, "'of the World.'" Now, cannot I  
 One jot of blasphemy herein descry ; 10  
 But great divines can with their learned labours  
 See further into mill-stones than their neighbours.

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## PHEBE'S FAN.

[After some hesitation I have decided to print consecutively the two parts of this charming fragment, clearly the mere germ of a poem. They appear, with the date "1730" over them and a line or dash between them, in shorthand on fol. 53 of the *Chetham Library MS.* Purporting, apparently, to be a legend for a fan in the possession of Byron's favourite sister Phebe, they breathe the spirit of virgin chastity appropriate to the name. A fan so inscribed might have screened Margaret Blagge, while reading a holy book in the green-room among the ladies and gallants with whom she was performing *Calisto* at the court of Charles II. (See Evelyn's *Life of Mrs. Godolphin.*) After these lines follows in the *MS.* a jotting which has no apparent connexion with them :

"The body of this death,  
 The healing rigours of this righteous doom."]

### I.

WHAT worship is there in the bended knee,  
 If worldly thoughts transport the mind from Thee ?  
 Will Heaven regard uplifted hands and eyes,  
 Whilst on the earth the grovelling spirit lies ?  
 If on my person any stander-by  
 Should cast forgetfully his wandering eye,  
 Plant at that time such powerful charms therein,  
 As may convince the mortal for his sin,  
 That, by reproving looks to me unknown,  
 He quit my gestures and compose his own ! 10

9, 10 "Thus by reproving looks to me unknown  
 To quiet my gestures and compose his own."—*Transcript.*

II.

What, though no sounds shall penetrate the ear!  
 To listening thought the Voice of Truth is clear.  
 What, though no object strike upon the sight,  
 Thy Secret Presence is an Inward Light;  
 The mind's devotion needs no outward screen:  
 The centre of [the] humble soul is Thine.  
 There may I worship, and there may'st Thou place  
 Thy Seat of Mercy and Thy Throne of Grace!  
 Yea fix, if Christ our Advocate appear,  
 The Dread Tribunal of Thy Justice there!  
 Let each vain thought, let each impure desire,  
 Meet in Thy Wrath with a consuming fire!  
 The mind, restored to everlasting youth,  
 Shall worship Thee in Spirit and in Truth.

20

24. *In Spirit and in Truth.* "But the worshippers shall worship the Father in hour cometh, and now is, when the true spirit and in truth." (*St. John*, iv. 23.)

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TE DEUM.

[These lines are written in shorthand on fol. 56 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, and belong, accordingly, to the year 1730. While the earlier stanza is admirable of its kind, the second, in which a deeper thought was to be evolved, is incomplete in form. Clearly, however, Byrom was thinking of the narrative of the Creation (*Genesis*, i. 2: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters).]

I.

O THOU, Whose Powerful Word gave birth  
 To this vast frame of Heaven and earth;  
 Father of Angels and Mankind;  
 Thou Life of every living mind;

At Whose command we sprang from naught,  
 Conscious and capable of thought ;  
 Just, Good and True in all Thy ways :  
 Let every creature give Thee praise !

## II.

Fix'd on Thy Everlasting Throne,  
 And Happy in Thyself Alone  
 In Pure Communicative Love,  
 Thy Spirit [operates] to [prove]  
 Thy [Mercy] Infinite in Own  
 Self-executed Orders shown ;  
 And through the deep abyss of space  
 The beauteous universe takes place.

10

12 [*Operates*] *Om.*—*Transcript.**Ib.* To move.—*Transcript.*13 Thy ways.—*Transcript.*

16. *The beauteous universe takes place*; Byrom's famous *Hymn for Christmas Day* *i.e.*, the Creation is achieved. The ugly (*l.* 42), as well as other less conspicuous phrase "takes place" more or less mars passages of his verse.

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## DENOMINATIONS.

[The following epigram (to which I have ventured to supply a heading) is copied from fol. 57 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, where it is immediately preceded by the entry : "November, about the 25th, 1730."

In the earlier part of this epigram, the phraseology applied to the several denominations is, it need hardly be pointed out, remarkably accurate. The remainder alludes to the passage concerning the Mission at Ephesus, in *Acts*, xix. 13-16 : "Then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit answered and said,

Jesus I know, and Paul I know ; but who are ye ? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded."] ]

CHURCHMEN are orthodox, Dissenters pure,  
 But Quakers are God's people to be sure ;  
 The Lutherans follow Evangelic Truth,  
 But all the Elect are Calvinists, forsooth ;  
 The Baptists only have Regeneration,  
 While out of them there can be no Salvation.  
 We form a Church [compactd ?] of the seven ;—  
 "Lo, here is Christ ! lo, here the way to Heaven !"  
 Thus do the sons of England, Rome, Geneva,  
 Adjure by Jesus like the sons of Sceva,— 10  
 Wanting the Love that should enforce the Call.  
 An evil spirit overcomes them all.

8. *Lo, here is Christ ! &c.* See *St.* there, believe it not ;" a passage to which *Matthew*, xxiv. 23 : "Then if my man Byrom repeatedly makes reference in his shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or verse.

## FALSE HAPPINESS.

[The following excellent couplet is written on fol. 66 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, under the date November 9th, 1730, after a long extract from Erasmus, the author of the *Encomium Morie*.]

THAT never can be called true happiness  
 Which fools admire and wicked men possess.

## RESIGNATION.

[The following lines are written in longhand on fol. 140 of the *Chetham Library MS.*, and follow upon an entry : "Sunday, 26 September [1731] ; Reading in Bourignon."

The first two lines seem at first to have been intended to read :

“The secret, Phebe, of the Grace Divine,  
Seems to be couch'd in the one word ‘Resign ;’”

so that these verses were to have been addressed to the author's favourite sister. (Cf. *Phebe's Fan*, ante, p. 68.)]

BEHOLD the secret of the Grace Divine  
Involv'd in that mysterious word “Resign !”  
In the full meaning of this single sound  
Are all Religious duties to be found :  
The several virtues which adorn the soul  
Unite to form the one substantial whole.

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### GOD'S LOVE TO MAN.

[See *Isaiah*, xlix. 15 : “Can a woman forget her sucking-child, that she should not have compassion on a child of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee.” And cf. Cowper's beautiful hymn *Lovest thou me?* stanza iii. :

“Can a woman's tender care  
Cease towards the child she bare?  
Yes, she may forgetful be,  
Yet will I remember thee.”

Byrom's lines, which were printed among the *Miscellaneous Pieces*, &c., at the end of vol. ii. in A and B, were written in 1731 ; for they are to be found on fol. 46, in the reverse order of the pages, of the *Chetham Library MS.* Above them is written the text from *Isaiah* of which they are an expansion.

But these lines of Byrom's appear to have haunted him more than was commonly the case with so little self-conscious an author. See the entry in his *Diary* (at Cambridge), December 17th, 1733 : “At home after supper by myself, wrote a little shorthand, and sat up till past eleven thinking of the verses :

‘What is more tender, &c.’”

(*Remains*, i. 535.) Thus it is not impertinent to refer, in the present

connexion, to Byrom's letter to his wife on the death of their little daughter Nelly. (See *ib.*, i. 387.)]

WHAT is more tender than a Mother's Love  
To the sweet Infant fondling in her Arms?  
What Arguments need her Compassion move  
To hear its Cries, and help it in its Harms?  
Now, if the tend'rest Mother were possest  
Of all the Love within her single Breast  
Of all the Mothers since the World began,—  
'Tis nothing to the Love of God to Man!

2 Infant hanging in her.—*Chetham Library MS.*

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## THE ETERNAL PROMISE OF GOD.

[These lines occur in Byrom's *Shorthand Journal*, July 22nd, 1736 (*Remains*, ii. 61), and are followed by the note: "Have been reading of late P. *John Evangelista*, that Josiah [Byrom] brought, a most admirable book."

Though after much endeavour, I have failed to identify this writer. I suppose him to have been a German Mystic, whose *agnomen* suggests the Waldensian designation, familiar to some later non-conforming churches, for a minister authorised to perform part only of the functions of the priestly office. I cannot suppose "P. John Evangelista" to signify the Carmelite St. Juan de la Cruz, also called the Ecstatic Doctor, the Spanish Mystic whose writings have much in common with those of his associate in monastic reform, St. Teresa. (See Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, ch. xxxix.) And certainly he was not "Jean d'Espagne, Ministre du Ste Évangile," whose *Shibboleth* (1653) was dedicated to Oliver Cromwell, and who during the Protectorate was allowed to preach in the chapel of Somerset House. (See Pepys' *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, iv. 55 and *note*.)]

WHOLLY and solely to rejoice in this:  
That God for ever will be what He is!

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## AN HYMN TO JESUS,

FROM THE FRENCH.

[There seems every reason to believe that this hymn, published among Byrom's *Poems* in A and B without the addition "from the French" which I have appended to the title, and *A Farewell to the World* (*infra*), likewise published there but with the addition in question, were the two translations from Mdlle. Bourignon furnished by Byrom to John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. (See Dr. Osborn's note to p. 123 of the first edition, cited in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 1026.) Of this collection, published in 12mo in London, 1739, Byrom's Library contains a copy, with the inscription: "Jemmy Hutton gave me this book, by Mr. Ch. Wesley's order. *J. Byrom.*" (*Catalogue*, p. 229.) In March, 1738, Byrom had written to Charles Wesley as follows (I quote more of the letter than is absolutely necessary for my purpose, because it so admirably illustrates his insight into the subject):

"As your brother has brought so many hymns translated from the French, you will have a sufficient number, and no occasion to increase them by the small addition of Mrs. Bourignon's two little pieces, which I desire you to favour my present weakness, if I judge wrong, and not to publish them. I do not at all desire to discourage your publication; but when you tell me that you write not for the critic but for the Christian, it occurs to my mind that you might as well write for both, or in such a manner that the critic may by your writing be moved to turn Christian rather than the Christian turn critic. I should be wanting, I fear in speaking freely and friendly upon this matter, if I did not give it as my humble opinion, that before you publish you might lay before some experienced Christian critics, or judges, the design which you are upon; but I speak this with all submission, it is very likely that in these matters I may want a spur more than you want a bridle." (*Remains*, ii. 196.)

As to Antonia, or Antoinette, Bourignon, see *Introductory Note* to *Leslie v. Bourignon*, *ante*, p. 65.

According to Dr. Osborn, who cites *Byrom and the Wesleys*, by the Rev. Dr. Hoole, 1864, pp. 17, 27, the copy of *A Hymn to Jesus* in A differs from that given in the *Hymns and Sacred Poems* under the title "*Renouncing all for Christ*" merely in the matter of the title itself, and in "such verbal alterations as the superior taste and judgment of the Wesleys would dictate. The eighth and tenth verses, in both Byrom's and Wesley's copies, are tinged with that mysticism to which the preface (to the *Hymns and Sacred Poems*, 1739) refers; and Wesley has improved

on himself as well as on Byrom in the last edition of v. 9 (that in the *Larger Hymn-book*, 1780), where, instead of 'Nor heaven nor earth,' we read 'Nothing on earth.'" I have collated the hymns as printed by the Wesleys in 1739, using the copy in Byrom's Library, mentioned above; and I have noted, appending to them the letter W, the variations from the text of A in the case of the hymn *Renouncing all for Christ*. The other hymn was printed by the Wesleys precisely as it stands in A. The original hymn by Mdle. Bourignon "*Venez, Jésus, mon salutaire*," is stated to have been written by her about the year 1640, and to have "expressed her determination to live for Christ alone, a resolution which she came to whilst suffering from her father's anger because she refused to marry a man whom he had chosen for her." (See Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology, u.s.*, where the hymn is stated to be given in her *Works* in five eight-lined stanzas.)]

I.

COME, Saviour Jesus, from above,  
Assist me with Thy Heav'nly Grace;  
Withdraw my Heart from worldly Love,  
And for Thyself prepare the Place!

II.

Lord, let Thy Sacred Presence fill  
And set my longing Spirit free,  
That pants to have no other Will,  
But Night and Day to think on Thee!

III.

Where'er Thou leadest, I'll pursue  
Thro' all Retirements or Employs;

10

1 Saviour Jesu.—W.    7 Which pants.—W.    8 To feast on Thee.—W.  
9 *segg.* While in these Regions here below,  
No other Good will I pursue;  
I'll bid the World of Noise and Show  
With all its flatt'ring Snares adieu.—W.

But to the World I'll bid adieu  
And all its vain delusive Joys.

## IV.

That Way with humble Speed I'll walk  
Wherein my *Saviour's* Footsteps shine ;  
Nor will I hear, nor will I talk  
Of any other Love but Thine.

## V.

To Thee my longing Soul aspires ;  
To Thee I offer all my Vows :  
Keep me from false and vain Desires,  
My God, my Saviour, and my Spouse ! 20

## VI.

Henceforth, let no profane Delight  
Divide this consecrated Soul !  
Possess it Thou Who hast the Right,  
As Lord and Master of the Whole !

## VII.

Wealth, Honours, Pleasures, or what else  
This short-enduring World can give,  
Tempt as they will, my Heart repels,  
To Thee alone resolv'd to live.

13 That Path with humble Speed I'll seek.—W.

17 My Earnest Soul.—W.

25 Wealth, Honour, Pleasure.—W.

15 Will I speak.—W.

21 Henceforth may.—W.

28 To CHRIST alone.—W.

VIII.

Thee one may love, and Thee alone,  
With inward Peace and Holy Bliss ;  
And when Thou tak'st us for Thy Own,  
Oh, what a Happiness is this !

30

IX.

Nor Heav'n nor Earth do I desire,  
Nor Mysteries to be reveal'd ;  
'Tis Love that sets my Heart on Fire ;  
Speak Thou the Word, and I am heal'd !

X.

All other Graces I resign,  
Pleas'd to receive, pleas'd to restore.  
Grace is Thy *Gift* ; it shall be mine  
The GIVER only to adore.

40

29 *seqq.* Thee I can love, and Thee alone  
With holy Peace and inward Bliss ;  
To find Thou tak'st me for thy own,  
Oh ! what a Happiness is this !—W.  
34 *seqq.* But Thy pure Love within my Breast,  
This, this I always will require,  
And freely give up all the rest.—W.  
37 *seqq.* Thy Gifts, if call'd for, I resign,  
Pleas'd to receive, pleas'd to restore ;  
Gifts are Thy work, it.—W.

---

A FAREWELL TO THE WORLD,

FROM THE FRENCH.

[Translated by Byrom from Antoinette Bourignon, for John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. See the *Introductory Note* to the preceding piece.]

## I.

WORLD, adieu, thou real Cheat !  
 Oft have Thy deceitful Charms  
 Fill'd my Heart with fond Conceit,  
 Foolish Hopes and false Alarms.  
 Now I feel as clear as Day,  
 How thy Follies pass away.

## II.

Vain thy entertaining Sights,  
 False thy Promises renew'd !  
 All the Pomp of thy Delights  
 Does but flatter and delude.  
 Thee I quit for Heav'n Above,  
 Object of the noblest Love.

10

## III.

Farewell, Honour's empty Pride !  
 Thy own nice, uncertain Gust,  
 If the least Mischance betide,  
 Lays thee lower than the Dust ;  
 Worldly Honours end in Gall,  
 Rise to Day, To-morrow fall.

## IV.

Foolish Vanity, farewell !  
 More inconstant than the Wave ;  
 Where thy soothing Fancies dwell,  
 Purest Tempers they deprave :  
 He to Whom I fly from thee,  
 JESUS CHRIST, shall set me free.

20

14. *Thy own nice, uncertain Gust.* Thy note to l. 85 of *An Epistle to a Friend*,  
 own curious and capricious taste. Cf. *ante*, vol. i. part ii. p. 339.

V.

Never shall my wandering Mind  
Follow after fleeting Toys ;  
Since in GOD alone I find  
Solid and substantial Joys,—  
Joys that, never overpast,  
Thro' Eternity shall last.

30

VI.

Lord, how happy is a Heart,  
After Thee while it aspires !  
True and Faithful as Thou art,  
Thou shalt answer its Desires ;  
It shall see the glorious Scene  
Of Thy Everlasting Reign.

---

A N H Y M N ,

FROM THE FRENCH.

[This is a version of the following stanzas by Madame Guyon, the last piece of a series of four on the same subject which appears in her *Poésies et Cantiques Spirituels*, &c., vol. i. (edn. 1790), p. 245 :

*L'amour inébranlable dans les souffrances et la prison.*

*Air : Charmante solitude.*

I.

*Charmante solitude,  
Cachot, aimable tour,  
Où sans inquiétude  
Je passe tout le jour !  
Est-il tourment plus rude  
Pour mon fidèle amour ?*

II.

*Les maux sont mes délices,  
Les douleurs mes plaisirs,  
Les plus affreux supplices  
Le but de mes désirs  
Et tous mes exercices  
L'amour et les soupirs.*

## III.

*Je ne crains point la peine  
 Quoique sans nul soutien,  
 Étant assez certaine  
 Que ce mal est mon bien :  
 La Beauté Souveraine  
 Veut l'amour souverain.*

## IV.

*Je souffre, et ma souffrance  
 Cause tout mon bonheur :  
 Par sa douce présence  
 Dieu consomme mon cœur :  
 Il est ma patience,  
 Ma force, et ma douceur.*

Madame Guyon's habit of repeating herself is one of her best-known and least mistakeable characteristics, and the ideas contained in the above hymn partially reappear in her *Paix au milieu des souffrances* (*Poésies et Cantiques*, i. 157).

It is not easy to describe, as a whole, the sacred poetry of Madame de la Mothe-Guyon, which fills four volumes in the edition cited above. I should be loth to pronounce it devoid of a certain genuine *afflatus*, which now and then communicates its contagion even to readers inevitably impatient of verse more or less obsolete in both form and sentiment. Few writers of religious verse of any kind have been equally fecund. Moreover, Madame Guyon was wont to produce her poetry in groups (or litters), without any effort at effacing the family-likeness which each poem in such a group bore to the rest. Her lyrics range from the rarer heroic to the more familiar erotic type, and they are in fact as a rule set to one of the pleasant tunes of *les chansons d'autrefois*, which, as a matter of course, recall the cults of Bacchus and Venus. It is, to be sure, quite as futile to try to tabulate the various moods of religious feeling, as it would be to impound within similar limits any other form of human sentiment. But Madame Guyon's moods undeniably include what may be called the "skittish." (See, for instance, the lines in the above-mentioned collection, where, using her favourite apostrophe to the Divine Object of her reverence, she puts on a sort of *moue* of pious ecstasy :

*"Mon cher petit Maître aujourd'hui  
 M'a fait un joli tour d'ami ;  
 Qu'il me donne d'alarmes !  
 On ne peut vivre avec lui,  
 Il se plaît dans mes larmes."*)

An adequate account in English of Madame Guyon is so far as I know still a *desideratum*. Professor T. C. Upham's *Life, Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame de la Mothe Guyon: together with some account*

of the personal history and religious opinions of F  nelon, Archbishop of Cambray, is—at least in the 1859 edition, “edited and revised by an English Clergyman”—too aggressively Protestant a production to be pleasant reading. The *Life of Lady Guion* (Bristol, 1772) is a mere compilation from the French. Several of her poems are translated in the latter biography; others were rendered into English verse by Cowper, but the ensuing stanzas are not included in either collection.

On February 28th, 1749, Byrom wrote to his wife: “I have been transcribing and translating a copy of French verses that came over lately, and have made some talk at Paris and here, for Dolly.” (*Remains*, ii. 488.) Either this poem or the *Farewell to the World*, printed below, may possibly have been the piece in question.]

I.

HOW charming to be thus confin'd  
 Within This lovely Tow'r ;  
 Where with a calm and quiet Mind  
 I pass the peaceful Hour !  
 Stronger than Chains of any Kind  
 Is Love's Enduring Pow'r.

II.

These very Ills are my Delight ;  
 My Pleasures rise from Pains ;  
 The Punishments that most affright  
 Become my wish'd-for Gains ;  
 Whatever Torments they excite,  
 Pure-sighing Love remains.

1, 2. *How charming to be thus confin'd* sided over by Bossuet, and she had not  
*Within this lovely Tow'r.* adhered to her promise of remaining  
 From about February to October, 1688, quiet, she was placed under duress at  
 Mme. Guyon underwent incarceration in Vincennes in December, 1695. From  
 the Convent of St. Mary in the Saint Antoine suburb of Paris—probably in the ordinary Convent prison. After her opinions 1698 to 1702 she was a prisoner in the Bastille.—  
 had been condemned by a commission pre- “Stone walls do not a prison make,  
 Nor iron bars a cage.”

M



## III.

Pain is no Object of my Fear,  
 Tho' Help is not in View ;  
 Sure as I am, from Evils here  
 That Blessings will ensue,  
 To Sov'reign Beauty it is clear  
 That Sov'reign Love is due.

## IV.

I suffer, but along with Smart  
 Is Grace and Virtue sent ;  
 Presence of GOD, Who takes my Part,  
 So sweetens all Event.  
 He is the Patience of my Heart,  
 The Comfort and Content.

20

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 THE DESPONDING SOUL'S WISH.

[In Byrom's *Shorthand Journal*, the first two stanzas of the former of these poems follow upon the entry: "Talk o'th' Hill, July 10th" [1736]; "last night riding hither." (See *Remains*, ii. 57.) Mr. Julian (*Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 783) suggests as a title for these twin poems, of which he speaks as in common use, "*No Rest but in God.*" Possibly, the idea of them was suggested by the dialogue between The Distressed Soul and An enlightened and regenerate Soul in Jacob Böhme's *Way from Darkness to true Illumination*. The following is a passage from an English version of this tractate published under the title *The Way to Christ Discovered*, Manchester, 1752, pp. 293 *seqq.*:

"*The distressed Soul answered*: The Creator hath hid his Countenance from me, so that I cannot come to his rest, and therefore I am thus troubled, and know not what I shall do to get his loving Kindness again."

But the resemblance is not close; and Byrom's lines may have a different, and a more direct, original.

In the old morality called by the late Mr. Collier, *Mind, Will, and Understanding*, but re-named by Dr. Furnivall, who edited the earlier portion of it from the Digby MS., *A Morality of Wisdom, who is Christ*, there is a most impressive colloquy between Wisdom, thus personified, and the maid *Anima*, the human soul.

The "question-and-answer" relation between the two following poems is in a style occasionally adopted by our Elizabethans. (Cf., e.g., Raleigh's *Imitation of Marlowe* ("Come live with me," &c.) and his *Nymph's Reply to the Passionate Shepherd*.) I wish I possessed the science of Mr. George Saintsbury, so as to be able to indicate which particular form of the fifteenth century *chanson* the versification of these stanzas (unconsciously) follows.]

I.

MY Spirit longeth for Thee  
Within my troubled Breast ;  
Altho' I be unworthy  
Of so Divine a Guest.

II.

Of so Divine a Guest  
Unworthy tho' I be,  
Yet has my Heart no Rest,  
Unless it come from Thee.

III.

Unless it come from Thee,  
In vain I look around ;  
In all that I can see,  
No Rest is to be found.

10

IV.

No Rest is to be found,  
But in Thy Blessèd Love ;  
O let my Wish be crown'd,  
And send It from Above !

## THE ANSWER.

## I.

CHEER up, desponding Soul !  
 Thy Longing, pleas'd, I see ;  
 'Tis Part of that Great Whole  
 Wherewith I long'd for thee.

## II.

Wherewith I long'd for thee,  
 And left My Father's Throne,  
 From Death to set thee free,  
 To claim thee for My Own.

## III.

To claim thee for My Own  
 I suffer'd on the Cross.  
 Oh ! Were My Love but known,  
 No Soul could fear Its Loss.

10

## IV.

No Soul could fear Its Loss ;  
 But, fill'd with Love Divine,  
 Would *die* on its *own* Cross,  
 And *rise* for ever *Mine*.

## AN HYMN TO JESUS,

FROM THE LATIN OF ST. BERNARD.

[This is a version of the first five stanzas of the hymn on the Name of Jesus, "*Jesu dulcis memoria*," generally attributed to St. Bernard, and known as "*The Jubilus of St. Bernard*," and among mediæval writers as *The Rosy Hymn*. See, for an account of text and versions, Julian's

*Dictionary of Hymnology*, pp. 585 *seqq.*; and cf. *ib.*, pp. 136-7. Mr. Julian observes that "there are many parallels to the hymn in St. Bernard's genuine prose works, especially that on the Canticles." I reprint the corresponding original stanzas from Archbishop Trench's Sacred *Latin Poetry*, pp. 251 *seqq.*, where other translations of the hymn are mentioned.

I.

*Jesu, dulcis memoria,  
Dans vera cordi gaudia,  
Sed super mel et omnia  
Ejus dulcis presentia.*

II.

*Nil canitur suavius,  
Nil auditur jucundius,  
Nil cogitatur dulcius,  
Quam Jesus Dei Filius.*

III.

*Jesu, spes penitentibus,  
Quam pius es petentibus,*

*Quam bonus te quærentibus,—  
Sed quid invenientibus?*

IV.

*Jesu, dulcedo cordium,  
Fons vivus, lumen mentium,  
Excedens omne gaudium,  
Et omne desiderium.*

V.

*Nec lingua valet dicere,  
Nec litera exprimere;  
Expertus potest credere  
Quid sit Jesum diligere.]*

I.

JESU! The Soul that thinks on Thee,  
How happy does it seem to be!  
What Honey can such Sweets impart,  
As does Thy Presence to the Heart!

II.

No Sound can dwell upon the Tongue,  
Nor Ears be ravish'd with a Song,  
Nor Thought by pondering be won,  
Like that of God's Belovèd Son.

III.

JESU! The Penitent's Retreat,  
The wearied Pilgrim's Mercy-Seat:  
If they that *seek* Thee are caress'd,  
How are the *Finders* of Thee blest!

## IV.

JESU! the Source of *Life* and *Light*,  
 That mak'st the Mind so blest and bright;  
 Fulness of Joy Thou dost inspire  
 Beyond the Stretch of all Desire.

## V.

This can no Tongue that ever spoke  
 Nor Hand express by figur'd Stroke;  
 It is *Experience* that must prove  
 The Pow'r of JESUS and His Love.

20

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ARMELLE NICOLAS' ACCOUNT OF  
 HERSELF.

## FROM THE FRENCH.

[Pierre Poiret, the author of the *Bibliotheca Mysticorum*, and editor of the works of Mme. Guyon, published in 1704 *La Vie Merveilleuse d' Armelle Nicolas, dite la Bonne Armelle, une pauvre fille idiote, paysanne et servante* (two vols., 12mo, Cologne). Although edited by Poiret, it is thought to be the composition of a female author, an Ursuline sister. A copy of this book was in Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 161). Byrom seems to have first become acquainted with it in 1735, when he notes in his *Shorthand Journal*, under the date of January 11th, among the occupations of his day: "From Vaillant's shop, where I had been reading a little in *Armelle Nicolas*." (*Remains*, i. 550.)

The biography of "the Good Armelle" was republished in a German translation in 1708, which appeared in a second edition in 1719. An English version (possibly not the first) is the "Life of Armelle Nicolas, commonly called the Good Armelle; a poor Maid Servant in France, who could not read a Letter in a Book and yet a noble and happy Servant of the King of Kings." Of this I possess a copy, published at

Bristol in 1772. It is by the translator of *The Life of Lady Guion*, and is bound up with the second volume of that work. The Dedication ("To all that useful part of mankind who are providentially employed in the Station of SERVANTS, of whatever kind or degree") states that the translation contents itself with reproducing the main substance of the French original, which takes up two volumes in 12mo, the first containing above 550 pages, the second above 350, and which "is so very circumstantial on minute points, so particular about days and years and what passed in them as would make it (if the translation were to follow the original) far too tedious for the generality of English readers, and tend to carry off all the real benefit of the best parts."

Certain passages in Byrom's *Diary and Correspondence* of the years 1739 and 1740 seem to indicate that he was then making arrangements for a German translation of his lines on "the Good Armelle," or of English prose extracts on which they were founded. For this task, he employed the services of the German pietist Johann Christian Jacobi, who was then in London; and the expense of the undertaking was in whole or in part defrayed by Byrom himself. On July 27th, 1739, he writes: "Mr. Jacobi came in . . . with two copies of Armelle's sheet with her picture in the middle, and 500 I think had been printed, and it came to £3 2s., which I gave him;" (*Remains*, ii. 258); and on September 5th: "Mr. Jacobi sent me a letter and 100 *Armelles*." (*Ib.*, 280.) But on March 6th, 1740, Jacobi seems to imply that the demand had become slack, and was unlikely at present to revive: "The good Armelle," he writes to Byrom, "now sleeps until the Lord shall create a desire for seeking her out and finding edification in her example." (*Ib.*, ii. 301.) But the transaction is involved in some obscurity; Jacobi seems to have been connected with Zinzendorf, who had taken some interest in Madame Guyon in the years preceding the publication of his "*Short Maxims THEOLOGICÆ MYSTICÆ*" (1731). (See A. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, iii. 407.)

Armelle Nicolas, according to her biographer, was born on September 19th, 1606, in the Breton village of Campeneac near Ploermel (famed as the scene of the Pardon of Ploermel), where still stands the ancient church dedicated to St. Armel. Until she was about twenty-two years of age she lived with her peasant parents. From her early years she showed an inclination to silence and solitude, often withdrawing to

her devotions from her occupation of tending the sheep and cattle or from her play. After her first communion she took every opportunity of receiving the Sacrament, applying to priests to administer it to her in private, and being at other times invited by them of their own motion, "or rather by the motion of God." Having refused to marry, she entered the service of a gentleman at Ploermel, much to her own relief, since she was henceforth no longer obliged on holidays and Sundays to attend country dances and assemblies, and enjoyed more frequent opportunities of being present at mass and sermons. After returning home on her father's death, she went again into service, and "in less than four months tried three new places; but indulgence and kind treatment did not seem to answer to her state of mind." Finally she found in yet another household at Ploermel what she needed,—a family given to religious observances, a confessor "well acquainted with the ways of the Spirit," and a mistress whose severity proved as she thought of inestimable advantage to her. For it seemed to her "that all she endured was as nothing in comparison with the desire she had to suffer, following the example of her Saviour, who continually presented Himself to her as a model." After, in her fifth year of service, Armelle had undergone constant hard labour, sickness and merciless rigour on the part of her mistress, the latter relented. An answer given by Armelle to a rough query proved to her mistress that the silence, meekness, patience, and submission which she had always attributed to stolid dulness were due to a deep humility. "God had blinded her towards Armelle, in order that she might contribute to the sanctification of her soul." Although now treated with the kindest indulgence, Armelle not long afterwards quitted Ploermel for Vannes with the daughter of her former employers. Here she "entered upon the experience of a rigorous passive purification," which continued for two years, her body being reduced to a weak condition. Finally her confessor, astonished and enraptured by her sayings, brought about her removal to the house of a pious widow in the town, where he introduced physicians to see her, together with other persons, who were highly edified by her conversation. She then re-entered service, but having overdone herself by her exertions, was during three or four years subject to frequent maladies. Hereupon she became for a year and a half *tourière* (maid-of-all-work) in an Ursuline nunnery, where she bore herself with much virtue, silence, modesty,

and submission, rejoicing the hearts of the sisters by her holy discourse, and, though but a domestic, exercising great moral authority over "the boarders" in whose service she was engaged. But the easy position in which she was now placed, and the kindness with which she was treated, failed "to meet her desire of suffering after the example of her Lord and Saviour." She therefore abandoned her place of refuge, and resumed service under her former mistress till the death of the latter in 1656. Some years afterwards her leg was broken by the kick of a horse. She bore her sufferings with angelic resignation, until three years after the accident—in 1669—while hearing mass, she miraculously recovered the use of the limb. On October 24th, 1671, she passed peaceably away. In accordance with her own wish, she was interred with great solemnity, her funeral being attended by a vast concourse of people from the four parishes of the town of Vannes.

Byrom's verses appear to be a paraphrase of the "*Journal of the daily mode of life of ARMELLE NICOLAS*," which is included in vol. ii. of the French biography. I have accordingly appended to the corresponding stanzas extracts from the English Translation of this *Journal*. It is worth noticing that Byrom has modified some of the mystic phrases couched in the language of human passion, while he has omitted others. The root of the matter is after all to be found in *Colossians*, iii. 22-24 : "Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers ; but in singleness of heart, fearing God : And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men ; Knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance : for ye serve the Lord Jesus Christ."]

I.

"TO the God of my Love, in the Morning," said she,  
Like a Child to its Parent, when waking, I flee ;  
With a Longing to serve Him and please Him, I rise,  
And before Him kneel down, as if seen by these Eyes ;

I segg. "As soon as I waked in the morning I threw myself into the arms of my divine love, as a child does into those of its father. I rose to serve him, and to labour to please him. If I had time for prayer, I fell on my knees in his divine presence, begging all his holy will might be accomplished in me, and that he would not permit me to offend him in the least thing. In him I occupied myself as long as the other occupations of the day permitted." *Journal*, &c.

N



I resign up myself to His Absolute Will,  
Which I beg that in me He would always fulfil ;  
That the Pray'rs of the Day, by whomever preferr'd,  
For the Good of each Soul may be also thus heard.

## II.

"If, oblig'd to attend on some household Affair,  
I have scarce so much Time as to say the Lord's Pray'r, 10  
This gives me no Trouble : my dutiful Part  
Is Obedience to Him Whom I have at my Heart  
As well at my Work as retiring to pray ;  
And His Love does not suffer in mine a Decay :  
He has taught me Himself, that a Work which I do  
For His Sake is a Pray'r very real and true.

## III.

"I dress in His Presence, and learn to confess  
That His Provident Kindness supplies me with Dress.  
In the midst of all outward Employment I find  
A Conversing with Him of an intimate Kind. 20

9 *segg.* "Very often I had not the leisure to say the LORD's prayer all the day ; but that gave me no concern. I thought it as much my duty to work for him as to pray to him, because he had showed me that all that is done out of love to him is a true prayer." *Journal*, &c.

17 *segg.* "In his company I dressed myself, and he showed me that he furnished me wherewith to dress myself. When I went to my work, he left me not, nor did I leave him. Oh ! how sweetly does work go on with such good company ! By him all my pains and fatigues were well paid. From thence I drew so much strength and

courage that nothing seemed difficult to me. I wished to do alone the whole work of the house. I concluded that I had my body only for work, and my heart for love, with which it burned in that endearing familiarity with him, wherewith he was pleased so amply to favour me." *Journal*, &c. Cf. Law's *Answer to Dr. Trapp's Discourse*, &c. (4th edition, 1772), in *Works*, 1772, vol. vi. p. 25 : "We must dress with the same spirit that we give *alms*, or go to *prayers* ; that is, we must no more dress to be *seen* and *admired* by others, than we must give *alms*, or make *prayers*, for the same reason."

How sweet is the Labour! His Loving Regard  
So supporting one's Mind, that it thinks nothing hard ;  
While the Limbs are at Work, in the seeking to please  
So Belov'd a Companion, the Mind is at Ease.

IV.

"In His Presence I eat and I drink, and reflect  
How Food of His Gift is the growing Effect ;  
How His Love to my Soul is so great and so good,  
Just as if it were fed by His own Flesh and Blood.  
What a Virtue this Feeder, His Meat, and His Drink  
Has to kindle one's Heart, I must leave you to think. 30  
He alone can express it ; no Language of mine,  
Were my Life spent in speaking, could ever define.

V.

"When, perhaps, by hard Usage or Weariness prestr,  
I myself am too apt to be fretful at best,  
Love shows me forthwith how I ought to take Heed  
Not to nurse the least Anger by Word or by Deed ;

30 Have to raise in one's.—B.

25 *seqq.* "When I was at my meals, I enjoyed the repast in his divine presence, as well as I did everything else. It seemed to me as if every morsel were dipped in his precious blood, and that himself thus gave it to me to nourish me both in body and soul, still more to inflame me with his love. I leave you to think what effects this must operate in my mind. Oh ! Without doubt they are beyond conception, and there is none but he who can tell them! As to poor me, were I to employ my whole life therein, I could never do it." *Journal*, &c.

33 *seqq.* "If in the course of the day, amidst the bustles, hurries and incessant hard labours of it, the body felt any pain or weariness, ready to complain or murmur, or to take its ease ; if I let myself be touched with anger, or any other movement of irregular passion, my divine love instantly enlightened me, and showed me that I must entirely stay every such rebellion of corrupt nature, and by no means allow them any life either by word or by action. This love not only kept the door of my lips, but set a guard over my heart, that nothing might contribute to nourish any irregular motions there ; so they are forced to die at their birth." *Journal*, &c.

And He sets such a Watch at the Door of my Lips,  
That of hasty cross Words there is nothing that slips.  
Such irregular Passions as seek to surprise,  
Are crush'd and are conquer'd, as soon as they rise.

40

## VI.

"Or, if e'er I give Place to an Humour so bad,  
My Mind has no Rest till Forgiveness be had ;  
I confess all my Faults, as if He had not known,  
And my Peace is renew'd by a Goodness His Own  
In a Manner so free as if, after my Sin,  
More strongly confirm'd than before it had been.  
By a Mercy so Tender my Heart is reclaim'd,  
And the more to love Him by its Failing inflam'd.

## VII.

"Sometimes I perceive that He hideth His Face,  
And I seem like a Person depriv'd of all Grace.  
Then I say : 'Tis no Matter ; altho' Thou conceal  
Thyself as Thou pleasest, I'll keep to my Zeal ;  
I'll love Thee, and serve Thee, however this Rod  
May be sent to chastise, for I know Thou art God.'

50

41 *segg.* "But if at any time I was not enough on my guard, and let myself by surprise be moved into my fault, alas ! I could have no rest till I had obtained my pardon, and my God was reconciled to me. I prostrated myself at his holy footstool, weeping before him. To him I confessed my faults as if he knew them not, owned all my weakness, and thus continued till pardon was granted, and his friendship confirmed more than before ; which through his great mercy and goodness constantly

followed, whenever I slipt into any fault. And that served still more and more to inflame my heart with gratitude and love toward him." *Journal, &c.*

49 *segg.* "If sometimes he hid his face, and seemed to withdraw, I said to him : 'Oh, it is no matter : conceal thyself from me, yet will I serve thee not the less for it. For I know thou art my GOD.' Then I tried to keep on my guard more strictly, and to be more faithful for fear of displeasing in anything my beloved." *Journal, &c.*

And with more Circumspection I stand upon Guard,  
Till of such a Great Blessing no longer debarr'd.

VIII.

"But a Suff'ring so deep having taught me to try  
What I am in my Selfhood, I learn to rely  
More firmly on Him Who was pleas'd to endure  
The severest Extremes, to make way for our Cure. 60  
To conform to His Pattern, as Love shall see fit,  
My Faith in the *Saviour* resolves to submit ;  
For no more than my Self (if the Word may go free)  
Can I live without Him, can He help loving me.

IX.

"Well assur'd of His Goodness I pass the whole Day,  
And my Work, hard or easy, is felt as a Play ;  
I am thankful in Feelings, but, Pleasure or Smart,  
It is rather Himself that I love in my Heart.  
When they urge me to Mirth, I think, 'Oh ! were it known  
How I meet the Best Company when I'm alone !' 70  
To my dear Fellow-creatures what ties me each Hour  
Is the Love of my GOD, to the best of my Pow'r.

57 *seqq.* "At these times I more fully discovered my own poverty and misery, and confided more and more in my LORD, being content with being in that condition all the rest of my life, if he pleased. But he did not leave me in it ; and, if I may use the expression, it seemed as if he could not forbear caressing me any more than I could live without him." [Here follows some very fervent mystic phraseology.] *Journal*, &c.

65 *seqq.* "Or" [if] "any wanted on those days" [holidays and Sundays] "to prevail on me to join with them in their

vain diversions, I excused myself . . . And when they wondered at seeing me still all alone in the house, I said to myself : 'Oh ! If you knew the glorious company which I have, ye would be far from thinking of me as ye do. I am never less alone than when I appear most to be alone.'" *Journal*, &c. Cf. Cic. *de Officiis*, iii. 1 : "*P. Scipionem . . . eum, qui primus Africanus appellatus est, dicere solitum scripsit Cato . . . Nunquam se minus otiosum esse, quam cum otiosis ; nec minus solum, quam cum solus esset.*"

## X.

"At the Hour of the Night when I go to my Rest,  
 I repose on His Love, like a Child at the Breast ;  
 And a sweet, peaceful Silence invites me to keep  
 Contémplating Him, to my dropping asleep.  
 Many Times a good Thought, by its gentle Delight,  
 Has withheld me from Sleep a good Part of the Night,  
 In adoring His Love That continues to share  
 To a poor, wretched Creature so Special a Care.

80

## XI.

"This, after my Heart was converted at last,  
 Is the Life I have led for these twenty Years past.  
 My Love has not chang'd, and my innermost Peace,  
 Tho' it ever seem'd full, has gone on to increase :  
 'Tis an Infinite Love that has fill'd me, and fed  
 My still rising Hunger to eat of Its Bread,—  
 So satisfied, still, as if such an Excess  
 Could have Nothing more added than what I possess."

73 *seqq.* "When the evening was come, and everyone went to rest, I found mine only in the arms of divine love. I fell asleep on his holy breast, as a child does on the bosom of his mother, still loving and praising GOD, till sleep seized me. Often this love waked me again, and so strongly impressed all my senses, that I passed a great part of my nights without sleeping, and spent it all in the loving embraces of that lovely grace which never left me, but watched, and was always attentive to such a vile worthless creature as I am." *Journal, &c.*

81 *seqq.* "Such has been my life for these twenty years past, without ever perceiving the least diminution of the love which he poured into my heart at the very time of my entire conversion. Nay, on the contrary, I have observed its daily increase, tho' every day it seemed impossible to admit any addition to what I already enjoyed. But truly it is an infinite love with which I find myself nourished and satisfied ; so that every day I have a new hunger, tho' methinks I can receive no more than what I possess already every moment." *Journal, &c.*

# REFLEXIONS ON THE FOREGOING ACCOUNT.

HOW full a Proof of Heav'ns *All-present* Aid  
Was *good Armelle*, a simple Servant-maid !  
A poor *French* Girl, by Parentage and Birth  
Of low and mean Condition upon Earth ;  
By Education ignorant indeed :  
She all her Life could neither write nor read.

But she had *that* which all the Force of Art  
Could neither give nor take away,—an *Heart*,  
An honest, humble, well-disposèd Will,  
The true Capacity for higher Skill 10  
Than what the World with all its learnèd Din  
Could teach. She learn'd her Lesson from *within*,—  
Plain, single Lesson of essential Kind :  
The *Love* of GOD'S *Pure Presence* in her Mind.  
Her artless, innocent, attentive Thought  
Was at the *Source* of all *True* Knowledge taught.  
*There* she could read the Characters imprest  
Upon the Mind of ev'ry human Breast,—  
The native Laws prescrib'd to ev'ry Soul,  
And *Love*, the One Fulfiller of the Whole. 20

This *Holy Love* to know and practise well  
Became the sole Endeavour of *Armelle*.

6. *She all her Life could neither write nor read.* Her biographer (*u.s.*) states that *Armelle* “even thanked GOD that she could not read, when some expressed their wishes that she had learnt it, as it would be a great means of advancement towards perfection. But she had recourse to the LORD, and said to him : ‘O my Love, my All, to thee I offer the book of my conscience. Thou knowest that I cannot read in any other book than that. Vouchsafe to take it, turn over its leaves, examine it fully, efface whatever is not pleasing to thee, and inscribe all that is agreeable to thy holy will !’”

Of outward Things the Management and Rule  
 She wisely took from this *internal* School.  
 In ev'ry Work well done by *such* a Hand,  
 The Work was *servile*, but the Thing was *grand*.  
 There was a Dignity in all she did,  
 Tho' from the World by meaner Labours hid,—  
 If mean *below*, not so esteem'd above,  
 Where all the *Grand* of Labour is the Love. 30  
 In vain to boast Magnificence of Scene ;  
 It is all Meanness, if the *Love* be *mean* !

29. *If mean BELOW, not so esteem'd above.* Compare the following passage in Law's *Serious Call* (chap. v.): "Had you, Serena, been obliged by the necessities of life, to wash clothes for your maintenance, or to wait upon some mistress that demanded all your labour, it would then be your duty to serve and glorify God, by such humility, obedience, and faithfulness as might adorn that state of life. It would then be recommended to your care, to improve that one talent to its greatest height. That when the time came, that mankind were to be rewarded for their labours by the great Judge of quick and dead, you might be received with a 'Well done, good and faithful servant: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'"

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## TO HIS WIFE.

[See Byrom's letter to Mrs. Byrom, dated June 28th, 1739, from London. After narrating a visit to "the shorthand bookseller" Hutton, during which "there came in the so much talked-of Mr. Whitefield, and company with him," he continues: "It was proposed to sing a hymn while we were there, and to take me in, as Mr. Hutton said, but the coach came, and so they did not. If I was to sing with 'em, it must [be] nearer homeward than Georgia" (whither the Wesleys had gone out in General Oglethorpe's expedition of 1735, with other clergymen of their school, a body of Salzburg Moravians and their pastors, and other emigrants); "the tune I should sing would be something like this I believe :

'Partner of all my joys and cares,' &c."

At the end of the verses he adds: "Past eleven. Good night. God bless the children—Thine, J. B." (*Remains*, ii. 248–251.)

These stanzas thus form a touching memorial of Byrom's constant affection for his wife, his love-match with whom he never seems for a moment to have regretted. His "Valentine," as he calls her on February 14th, 1738 and 1739 (*ib.*, ii. 195, 226–7), and again ten years later (*ib.*, ii. 485) seems to have been a lady of good sense and of a happy temperament, which enabled her to sustain with cheerfulness—at one period of their wedded life—the trial of repeated long separations from her husband, while she entered with interest into his pursuits and diversions, and (as this poem would seem to show) into his deeper thoughts.

When his son "Tedy" (Edward Byrom) was desirous of marrying the young lady—Miss Eleanor Halsted—who a year afterwards actually became his wife, Byrom wrote to Mrs. Byrom (February 28th, 1749): "I wish that whenever he marries he may meet with one that he may have as just reason to love, honour, and cherish as his father has his Valentine, whom he begs to take all possible [care] of a life and health so dear to him, who is, with hearty prayers to God for her and hers,—hers and theirs—J. BYROM." (*Remains*, ii. 488.)

I am, however, bound to confess with regard to the present poem, that there is something in the semi-mystic tone of its last three stanzas which, under the circumstances, rather jars upon me, as it may conceivably have jarred upon good Mrs. Byrom.

Elizabeth Byrom survived her husband and cousin for fifteen years, dying December 21st, 1778, at the age of 78. Of their six children only two daughters, Elizabeth and Dorothy, survived their parents.]

I.

PARTNER of all my joys and cares,  
Whether in poverty or wealth,  
For thee I put up all my pray'rs,  
Well-heard if answer'd by thy health ;

II.

Long absence, cruel as it is,  
Content still longer to endure

O



If aught conducive to thy bliss  
The tedious torment could procure !

## III.

Joyous or grievous my employ,  
Absence itself would give relief, 10  
Could I but give thee all the joy,  
And bear myself alone the grief.

## IV.

Lost in this place of grand resort,  
Though crowds succeeding crowds I see,  
Quite from the city to the Court  
'Tis all a wilderness to me !

## V.

Amidst a world of gaudy scenes .  
Around me glittering I move ;  
I wander, heedless what it means,  
Bent on the thoughts of her I love. 20

## VI.

Still I usurp that Sacred Sound,  
Too often and too long profan'd ;—  
When shall I tread the happy ground  
Where Love and Truth may be obtain'd ?

## VII.

Let me and my belovèd spouse  
With mutual ardour strive to quit

21. *That Sacred Sound.* "Love."

False, earthly, interested vows,  
And Heav'n into our hearts admit !

VIII.

There let th' endearing hope take place,  
Though parted here, to meet above 30  
In a perpetual chaste embrace,  
United, Jesu, in Thy love !

29. *Let th' endearing hope take place.* See note on *TE DEUM*, l. 16, *ante*, p. 70.

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AN HYMN ON SIMPLICITY,

FROM THE GERMAN.

[See *Remains*, ii. 262 *seqq.* (*Shorthand Journal*, August 6th, 1739):  
"Was yesterday at Paul's, and sister Betty there and Miss Egerton and  
W. Chaddock ; and we drank tea at the Commons ; the two women  
went in Dr. Andrew's chariot, because it rained, and he was just come  
home ; he asked us to pass the evening, and we did ; we stayed till  
eleven, and the talk very very—I did not like my share of it upon re-  
flection, but

'Jesus take me and possess me,' &c.,

which words came into my mind in the morning rising ; and now I  
*think* that to think on Jesus Christ continually, and wait upon him  
without ceasing, and let him be the hope, the thought, the word, the  
deed, the full assurance."

On this passage follows under the title "*Hymn*" the full text of the  
stanzas ensuing, with the words appended : "Began Monday evening,  
finished Tuesday noon in Mr. Clark's chambers, August [7th], 1739."

Byrom notes in his *Journal* on the next evening (Tuesday, August  
7th) : "Mr. Clark's man came, says his master will be here at nine in  
the morning ; very rainy day ; went out after the translation of Mr.

Jacobi's hymn . . ." On Monday the 13th, in recording his interview with the Moravian Cossart (see *Introductory Note* to the lines printed after the present *Hymn*), he mentions how, during its course, the words "*Mirâ permotus simplicitate rei*" came into his mind. On Sunday the 19th, he notes: ". . . was with Mr. Jacobi, and gave him my translation of Meshy's (I think he called him) verses upon Christian simplicity."

John Christian Jacobi, born in 1670, was about 1708 appointed Keeper of the German Chapel Royal in St. James' Palace, and held this post till his death on December 14th, 1750. He published in 1720 a *Collection of Divine Hymns, translated from the High-Dutch*, which was republished, greatly enlarged, in 1722 under the title *Psalmodia Germanica, or a Specimen of Divine Hymns*. This again was republished, with a *Supplement* of additional pieces, after his death by J. Haberkorn in 1765. (Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 575.) Byrom had much intercourse with Jacobi from 1739 to 1742, or thereabouts, and besides practising German with his aid, communed with him concerning the writings of Law, Zinzendorf, and others. (Cf. *ante*, p. 87, *Introductory Note* to *Armelle Nicolas' Account of Herself*.) I do not know the name of the writer of the *Hymn on Simplicity*, which sounded to Byrom like "Meshy." On a later occasion, Jacobi asked him to translate Joh. Scheffler's hymn *Die Seele Christi heil'ge mich* (*Remains*, ii. 298; see below, *Appendix I*.)

A comparison of the *Hymn on Simplicity* with its German original would be interesting, as it would show whether the odd combination of metres in the following *Hymn* was, or was not, the invention of the Translator; but I can find nothing concerning this particular Jacobi in any of the usual German authorities.]

## I.

JESU! Teach this Heart of mine  
True *Simplicity* to find,—

Child-like, innocent, Divine,

Free from *Guile* of ev'ry Kind;

And since, when amongst us vouchsafing to live,

So pure an Example it pleas'd Thee to give;

O let me keep still the Bright Pattern in View,

And be, after Thy Likeness, right simple and true!

II.

When I read, or when I hear  
Truths that kindle good Desires ; 10  
How to act, and how to bear  
What Heav'n-instructed Faith requires :  
Let no subtle Fancies e'er lead me astray,  
Or teach me to comment Thy Doctrines away ;  
No Reas'nings of selfish Corruption within,  
Nor Sleights by which Satan deludes us to Sin.

III.

Whilst I pray before Thy Face,  
Thou Who art my Highest Good,  
O confirm to me the Grace  
Purchas'd by Thy Precious Blood ; 20  
That, with a true filial Affection of Heart,  
I may feel what a Real Redeemer Thou art ;  
And, thro' Thy Atonement to Justice above,  
Be receiv'd as a Child by the Father of Love !

IV.

Give me, with a Child-like Mind  
Simply to believe Thy Word,  
And to do whate'er I find  
Pleases best my Dearest Lord ;  
Resolving to practice Thy gracious Commands ;  
To resign myself wholly up into Thy Hands : 30  
That, regarding Thee simply in all my Employ,  
I may cry "Abba ! Father !" with dutiful Joy !

32. *I may cry "ABBA ! FATHER !"* received the Spirit of adoption, whereby  
"For ye have not received the spirit of we cry, Abba, Father." (*Romans*, viii.  
Bondage again to fear ; but ye have 15.)

## V.

Nor within me nor without  
 Let *Hypocrisy* reside ;  
 But whate'er I go about,  
 Mere *Simplicity* be Guide !  
 Simplicity guide me in Word and in Will ;  
 Let me live,—let me die,—in Simplicity still ;  
 Of an Epitaph made me let this be the Whole :  
 “ Here lies a true Child, that was simple of Soul ! ” 40

## VI.

JESU ! Now I fix my Heart,  
 Prince of Life and Source of Bliss,  
 Never from Thee to depart,  
 Till Thy Love shall grant me this !  
 Then, then, shall my Heart all its Faculties raise,  
 Both *here* and *hereafter* to sing to Thy Praise !  
 Oh joyful ! My Saviour says “ So let it be ! ”  
 AMEN, to my Soul,—HALLELUJAH, to Thee !

## A SIMPLE CONFESSION.

[See Byrom's *Shorthand Journal*, August 13th, 1739 (*Remains*, ii. 265-6): “We came to Chancery Lane, and then I turned back to go to Mr. Pitsli's, where I saw Mr. Cossart, who kissed me and sat down with me apart, for there was a band there; he asked me if I would not write to Count Zinzendorf; I said, yes, if I could tell what to say; he said, tell him that you have nothing to say; I said that I would write . . . he said there was nothing to be done but to come to our Lord as poor sinners that could do nothing; that good works were profitable in the sight of man, but not to justify before God; that remission of sins was not to be had before doing; that *μετανοείτε* (*St. Matthew*, iii. 2) was this

change of mind (I think); that everything would appear sin to a man convinced, and then he would throw himself upon our Lord and say, Here I am, able to do nothing, take me if thou pleasest. There every now and then seemed to be some deep and yet plain truth in his matter if rightly understood, and the words '*Mirâ permotus simplicitate rei*' came into my mind; pray God grant me this grace for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen." Then follows the simple quatrain in the text.]

DEAR Christian brother, I confess  
I am a wretched sinner;  
If you know more and I know less,  
Instruct a young beginner!

---

## AN ENCOURAGEMENT TO EARNEST AND IMPORTUNATE PRAYER.

*"And he spake a Parable unto them, to this End, that Men always ought to pray, and not to faint."*—ST. LUKE, xviii. 1.

[The parable which follows in *St. Luke* (xviii. 2-5), is that of the Importunate Widow.]

### I.

A BLESSÈD Truth for Parable to paint,  
That "Men should always pray, and never faint!"  
Just the Reverse of this would Satan say,  
That "Men should always faint, and never pray."  
He wants to drive poor Sinners to Despair,—  
And Christ, to save them by prevailing Pray'r.

### II.

The Judge who fearèd neither God nor Man,  
Despis'd the Widow when she first began

Her just Request ; but she, continuing on  
 The same Petition, wearied him anon ;  
 He could not bear to hear her praying still,  
 And did her Justice, tho' against his Will.

10

## III.

Can Perseverance force a Man unjust  
 To execute, however loth, his Trust ?  
 And will not God, Whose Fatherly Delight  
 Is to save Souls, so precious in His Sight,  
 Hear his own Offspring's persevering Call,  
 And give the Blessing which He has for all ?

## IV.

Yes, to be sure, He will ; the lying "No"  
 Is a downright Temptation of the Foe,  
 Who first emboldens Sinners to presume,  
 As if a righteous Judgment had no Room ;  
 And, having led them into grievous Faults,  
 With the Despair of Mercy then assaults.

20

## V.

Dear Soul, if thou hast listen'd to the Lies  
 Which, at the first, the Tempter would devise,  
 Let him not cheat thee with a second Snare,  
 And drag thee into Darkness by Despair ;  
 Pray against all his Wiles ; for God will hear,  
 And will avenge thee of him, never fear !

30

29, 30. *Pray against all his Wiles, for  
           God will hear  
       And will avenge thee of him,  
           never fear.*

This couplet, no doubt by a wholly unde-

signed coincidence, recalls the concluding  
 lines of the *Good Counsail of Chaucer* :

"And let thy ghost thee lede,  
 And trouth thee shall deliver, it is no  
 drede."

VI.

He gives the Grace to sorrow for thy Sin,  
The Sign of kindling Penitence within.  
Let not the Smoke disturb thee ; for, no doubt,  
The Light and Flame will follow, and break out ;  
And Love arise to overcome Restraint :  
That Thou may'st "always pray, and never faint !"

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A SOLILOQUY,

ON READING THE 5TH AND 8TH VERSES OF THE 37TH PSALM.

[Content and Patience are favourite themes of Byrom's. Cf. the *Epistle* following on the present piece, and see *ante*, vol. i. p. 121, *Introductory Note* to *A Dialogue on Contentment*.]

*"Leave off from wrath, and let go displeasure: fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to do evil."*—PSALM xxxvii. 8 (Prayer-book Version.)

I.

I N Psalm, this Evening order'd to be read,  
"Fret not thyself," the Royal Psalmist said.  
His Reason why, succeeding Words instil :  
"Or else," says he, "'twill move thee to do ill."  
Now, tho' I know that Fretting does no Good,  
Its evil Movement have I understood ?

II.

"Move to do Evil."—Then, dear Soul of mine,  
Stir it not up, if that be its Design !  
Its being vain, is Cause enough to shun ;  
But, if indulg'd, some Evil must be done,  
And thou, according to the holy King,  
Must be the Doer of this evil Thing.

10

P



## III.

Men use the ill ;—that Fault is theirs alone ;  
 But if thou use thyself ill, that's thy own.  
 Meekness and Patience is much better Treasure :  
 Then, "leave off Wrath," and "let go all Displeasure ;"  
 Tho' thou art ever so ill-treated, yet  
 Remember *David*, and forbear to "*fret!*"

*"Commit thy way unto the Lord, and put thy trust in Him : and He shall bring it to pass."*—*Ib.*, v. 5.

## IV.

"Commit thy Way unto the Lord ;"—resign  
 Thyself entirely to the Will Divine. 20  
 All real Good, all Remedy for Ill  
 Lies in conforming to His Blessèd Will.  
 By all Advice that Holy Books record,  
 Thou must "commit thy Way unto the Lord ;

## V.

"And put thy Trust in Him ;"—all other Trust,  
 Plac'd out of Him, is foolish and unjust.  
 His Loving-Kindness is the only Ground  
 Where Solid Peace and Comfort can be found.  
 What other Prospects either sink or swim,  
 Do thou stand Firm, "and put thy Trust in Him ; 30

## VI.

"And He will bring thy Way to pass."—The whole  
 Of all that thou can'st wish for to thy Soul,  
 He wills to give it, and thy seeking Mind  
 By Faith and Patience cannot fail to find.  
 To Him, whatever good Desire it has,  
 "Commit and trust, and He will bring to pass !"

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AN EPISTLE FROM THE AUTHOR TO HIS  
SISTER,

WITH THE FOREGOING SOLILOQUY INCLUDED.

[This cheerful *envoi* would perhaps have more appropriately have found a place in Vol. I. of these *Poems*, but there seemed no necessity for separating it from the *Soliloquy* which it accompanied. As to Byrom's sister Phebe, who is his interlocutrix in *A Dialogue on Contentment*, see *ib.*, p. 5 *note*.]

I.

DEAR Sister,  
If Soliloquy conduce  
(Meant, as the Name declares, for private Use)  
To your Contentment,—if such Kind of Fruit  
Pleases your Taste, you're very welcome to't ;  
Tho' pluck'd one Day in April from the Ground,  
It keeps in Pickle all the Seasons round.

II.

'Tis Summer now, and Autumn comes anon ;  
Winter succeeds, and Spring when that is gone.  
But be it Winter, Summer, Autumn, Spring,  
To nurture Fretting is a simple Thing ; 10  
A Weed so useless to the Use of Reason  
Can absolutely never be in Season.

III.

Without much Nursing that the Weed will grow,  
I wish I had some Reason less to know ;

10. *A simple Thing.* A foolish thing. "A heart unfortified, a mind impatient,  
So *Hamlet*, i., ii., 96-7 : An understanding simple and unschooled."

Some less to see, how Folly, when it grew  
 In my own Ground, could cultivate it too,—  
 Could hedge it round, and cherish, and suppose  
 That, being mine, the Thistle was a Rose!

## IV.

You know the Saying, of I know not whom,  
 "Little Misfortunes serve till greater come ;" 20  
 And Saying, somewhere met with, I recall,  
 That "'tis the greatest to have none at all."  
 Rare Case, perhaps ; they reach, we often see,  
 All Sorts of Persons,—Him, Her, You, or Me.

## V.

"This being, then," Experience says, "the Case,  
 What Kind of Conduct must a Man embrace ?"  
 My 'Pothecary, as you think, replies :  
 "Pray take 'em quietly, if you be wise !  
 Bitter they are, 'tis true, to Flesh and Blood ;  
 But if they were not, they would do no Good." 30

## VI.

One Time, when 'Pothecary Patience found  
 That his Persuasion got but little Ground,  
 He call'd in Doctor Gratitude, to try  
 If his Advice could make me to comply.  
 "I recommended Patience, Sir," said he ;  
 "Pray will you speak, for he regards not me."

27. *My 'Pothecary.* The Apothecary general medical attendant. As late as the time of the Regency the elder Mr. Pen-  
 (for the abbreviation see an early example in one of the characters of John Hey-  
 wood's *The Four P's*) formerly meant the cary and surgeon" at Clavering.

VII.

"Patience! a Custard-Lid!" said Dr. Grat.;  
 "His Case wants, plainly, something more than that.  
 'Tis a good Recipe; but Cure is longer  
 Than it should be. We must have something stronger. 40  
 A creeping Pulse!—Bare Patience will not do;  
 To get him Strength, he must be thankful too.

VIII.

"He must consider,"—and so on he went  
 To show Thanksgiving's marvellous Extent,  
 And what a true *Catholicon* it was;  
 And what great Cures it had but brought to pass;  
 And how best Fortunes, wanting it, were curst;  
 And how it turn'd to good the very worst.

IX.

Oh! What a deal he said!—And, in the Light  
 Wherein he plac'd it, all was really right; 50  
 But like good Doctrine of some good Divine,  
 Which, while 'tis preach'd, is admirably fine,  
 When Doctor Gratitude had left the Spot,  
 All that he said was "charming,"—and forgot.

37. "*Patience! a Custard-Lid!*" said *de Paris* (1594). A Hispaniolised and Jesuitised charlatan, "*ayant appris que le Catholicon simple de Rome n'avoit d'autres effects que d'édifier les ames, et causer salut et béatitude en l'autre monde seulement, se fâchant d'un si long terme, s'estoit advisé*

45. *What a true CATHOLICON it was.* It is hardly necessary to recall the immortal use made of this term, which means "universal remedy," as the catch-word of the *Satyre Menippé de la Vertu du Catholicon d'Espagne et de la Tenue des Etats* par le conseil testamentaire de son père, de sophistiquer ce Catholicon, si bien qu'à force de le manier, remuer, alambiquer, calciner et sublimer, il en avoit composé dedans ce collège [de Tolède] un électuaire souverain, qui surpasse toute pierre philosophale, &c."

## X.

Your Doctor's Potion,—Patience and the Bark,—  
 May hit both mental and material Mark.  
 One serves to keep the Ague from the Mind,  
 As t'other does from its corporeal Rind.  
 There is, methinks, in their respective Growth,  
 A fair Analogy betwixt 'em both.

60

## XI.

For what the Bark is to the growing Tree,  
 To human Mind that Patience seems to be :  
 They hold the Principles of Growth together,  
 And blunt the Force of Accident and Weather ;  
 Bar'd of its Bark, a Tree, we may compute,  
 Will not remain much longer on its Root.

## XII.

And Mind in Mortals that are wisely-will'd,  
 Will hardly bear to have its Patience peel'd.  
 Nothing, in fine, contributes more to Living,  
 Physic or Food, than Patience and Thanksgiving.  
 Patience defends us from all outward Hap ;  
 Of inward Life Thanksgiving is the Sap.

70

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### PASCAL'S CHARACTER OF HIMSELF.

[These lines are a paraphrase of the *Profession de Foi* of Pascal first given to the world by his sister Madame Perier, and printed in his *Pensées, Fragments et Lettres* (édn. Faugère, 1814, i. 243-4). The Confession originally commenced with two lines afterwards effaced by the author : "*J'aime tous les hommes comme mes frères, parce qu'ils sont tous rachetés.*" The following is the text of this beautiful piece :

"*J'aime la pauvreté, parce que J. C. l'a aimée. J'aime les biens, parce qu'ils donnent le moyen d'en assister les misérables. Je garde fidélité à tout le monde. Je ne*

## Pascal's Character of Himself. III

*rends pas le mal à ceux qui m' en font ; mais je leur souhaite une condition pareille à la mienne, où l' on ne reçoit pas de mal ni de bien de la part des hommes. J'essaye d' être juste, véritable, sincère et fidèle à tous les hommes ; et j'ai une tendresse de cœur pour ceux que Dieu m'a unis plus droitement ; et soit que je sois seul, ou à la vue des hommes, j'ai en toutes mes actions la vue de Dieu qui doit les juger, et à qui je les ai toutes consacrées.*

*"Voilà quels sont mes sentiments ; et je bénis tous les jours de ma vie mon Rédempteur qui les a mis en moi, et qui, d' un homme plein de faiblesse, de misère, de concupiscence, d' orgueil et d' ambition, a fait un homme exempt de tous ses maux par la force de sa grâce à laquelle toute la gloire en est due, n' ayant de moi que la misère et l' erreur."*

Byrom was a reader of the *Pensées* of Pascal, of which his *Library* contains two editions, that of 1684, with a life by Perier, and another of 1699, together with Dr. Basil Kennet's English Translation, published in 1731 under the title of *Thoughts on Religion, and other curious Subjects*. (See *Catalogue*, p. 170.)]

### I.

I LOVE and honour a poor humble State,  
Because my Saviour Jesus Christ was poor,  
And Riches, too, that help us to abate  
The Miseries which other Men endure.

### II.

I render back no Injuries again,  
Because I wish the Doer's Case like mine,  
In which nor Good nor Evil, as from Men,  
Is minded much, but from an Hand Divine.

### III.

I aim sincerely to be just and true,  
For my Good-will to all Mankind extends ; 10

*7 seqq. In which nor Good nor Evil, que j'ai autrefois rapporté de l' Écriture.*  
*&c. Cf. Lettre vii. de Pascal à sa soeur ' Quand vous êtes dans les biens, souvenez-*  
*Jacqueline (Pensées, &c., u.s., i. 49) : vous des maux que vous méritez, et quand*  
*"Aussi il le faut regarder comme l' auteur vous êtes dans les maux, souvenez-vous des*  
*de tous les biens et de tous les maux, ex- biens que vous espérez."*  
*cepté le péché. Je lui répéterai là-dessus ce*

A Tenderness of Heart, I think, is due  
Where stricter Ties unite me to my Friends.

## IV.

Whether in Conversation or alone,  
Still to my Mind God's Presence I recall ;  
My Actions wait the Judgment of His Throne,  
And 'tis to Him I consecrate them all.

## V.

These are my Thoughts, and briefly thus display'd ;  
I thank my Saviour for them ev'ry Day,  
Who of a poor, weak, sinful Man has made  
A Man exempt from Vice's evil Sway.

20

## VI.

Such is the Force of His Inspiring Grace,  
For all my Good to That alone I owe ;  
Since, if my own corrupted Self I trace,  
I'm Nothing else but Misery and Woe.

17 *seqq.* *These are my Thoughts, &c.* I loved the garish day, and, spite of  
This stanza recalls the *sentiment* of the fears,  
second stanza of Cardinal Newman's Pride ruled my will : remember not past  
popular hymn : years !"—  
"I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou As Sainte-Beave has shown in vol. ii. of  
Should'st lead me on ; his *Port-Royal*, there is no reason for be-  
I loved to choose and see my path ; but now lieving Pascal's youth to have been wild,  
Lead Thou me on ! although no doubt it was worldly.

## ST. CECILIA'S HYMN.

[Although favoured by the assistance of one of the most learned of  
living hymnologists, I have been unable to obtain any clue as to the  
original (if such exists) of the following hymn.

A full account of *St. Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr*, will be found in

vol. ii. of Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art* (1848), pp. 201-219. It is there left undecided at what period St. Cecilia came to be regarded as the patron Saint of music, and to be accompanied in representations of her by the musical attributes; but Mrs. Jameson states that the Saint is seldom seen with her musical instruments previous to the beginning of the fifteenth century. No reference, it will be observed, is made to music in Byrom's stanzas.]

I.

O BORN of a Virgin most lowly and meek,  
Thou, sent of Thy Father lost Creatures to seek,  
Vouchsafe, in the Manner that pleaseth Thee best,  
To kindle Thy Love in my virginal Breast;  
Let the Words of my Mouth and the Thoughts of my Heart  
Obey the sweet Force which Thy Grace shall impart;  
Whilst Angels assist me to offer my Vows  
To the God of my Life, my Redeemer and Spouse!

II.

My Life I esteem, O Creator Divine,  
As a Loving Impression out-flowing from Thine,— 10  
As an act of Thy Bounty that gives us a Part  
Of the Light, Love and Glory Which Thou Thyself art.  
May I always as little Thy Pleasure oppose,  
As the pure simple Nature from whence I arose;  
And by Thee and for Thee created, fulfil  
In Thought, Word and Deed Thy adorable Will!

4. *My virginal Breast.* St. Cecilia is one of the saints venerated in Western Christendom as "the Four Great Virgins of the Latin Church." The legend concerning the preservation of her virginity was reproduced by Chaucer in his *Seconde Nonne's Tale, of the Lyf of Sainte Cecile.*

7. *Whilst Angels assist me.* See the lines quoted by Mrs. Jameson from Chaucer (*u.s.*, ll. 152-4):  
"I have an angel which that loveth me

That with great love, whereso I wake or sleep,

Is ready aye my body for to keep."

15. *By Thee and for Thee created.* See *Romans*, xi. 36: "For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever." Cf. in a better-known English hymn from the Latin:

"Low before Him with our praises we fall  
Of Whom, and in Whom, and through Whom are all."

Q



## III.

By this Blessèd Will, howsoever made known,  
 With a dutiful Joy will I govern my own ;  
 And, deaf to all tempting Enchantments of Sin,  
 I will hearken to Thee, my Redeemer within. 20  
 Thy Words will I ponder by Night and by Day,  
 And the Light of Thy Gospel shall mark out my Way ;  
 Till at length I arrive at the Honour I claim,  
 To live like a Virgin baptis'd in Thy Name.

## A LETTER TO A LADY,

OCCASIONED BY HER DESIRING THE AUTHOR TO  
 REVISE AND POLISH THE POEMS OF BISHOP KEN.

[In his admirable *Life of Bishop Ken* (two vols., 1888), the late Dean Plumptre has perhaps slightly underrated the interest which the eighteenth century took in Ken, and has passed by Byrom's interesting tribute without a word of notice. He says (ii. 263-4), "The eighteenth century was not favourable to the study of the representative divines of the Anglo-Catholic School of theology, and though Ken is mentioned respectfully in the Biographical Dictionaries (Kippis's and others), there is no trace of any effort to learn more about him than was to be found in Hawkins's meagre narrative, or Salmon's *Lives of the Bishops* (1733). His fame was waning, and seemed on the way to pass into the dim region of shadowy forms, of whose names we speak with honour, but of whom also we often know little but the names. Even the use of the *Morning* and *Evening Hymns*, which became common in the latter part of the period, did not do much to make his name more widely known, seeing that they were often printed in Tate and Brady's Supplement and other hymn-books without it. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, however, an anonymous pamphlet, *An Address to the Archbishop of Canterbury*, &c., by a Country Clergyman, London, 1791, shows that the older, more enthusiastic feeling had not quite died out . . . It is significant that Ken begins to emerge from his obscurity about the time when the school of Stuart divines began to attract more attention than

before, at the hands of students both of English literature and theology." Dean Plumptre then refers to the mention made of Ken by Southey in his *Omniana* and *Common Place Book*, to Bowles's *Life* (1830), and to the criticisms of Alexander Knox (*Remains*, 1836-7), who says of Ken's *Hymns*: "A comparison of the hymns of Doddridge, Watts, Ken and Wesley would show that Doddridge rises above Watts from having caught the spirit of Ken; and Wesley is deep and interior from having added to the Chrysostomian piety of Ken the experimental part of St. Augustine. Watts is a pure Calvinist; Ken is as pure a Chrysostomian . . ."

Ken's poems at large are still not easily accessible, and I daresay that there is little likelihood of a reprint of the edition in four volumes published by William Hawkins in 1721, which no doubt was the "book" returned by Byrom to the lady to whom these stanzas are addressed, and of which I am fortunate enough to possess a copy. Vol. i. contains, besides the interesting *Dedication* to Lord Weymouth and the other introductory verses referred to by Byrom in stanza v. *infra*, and a curious *Essay on Hymn*, in which mankind is said to have sunk to prose before our Lord restored hymnology, a long series of poems on the church festivals, supposed to be recited by a succession of saints, and the collection called *Christophil* or *Songs on Jesus*. The last-named series contains a few fine things, but on the whole the principle followed is that conveyed in the lines:

"Ejaculations are things loose  
Strung, Meditation they produce;  
'Tis by Continuation Thought  
Is up to Contemplation wrought;"

and though Dean Plumptre, ii. 252 *segg.* has extracted from Ken's verse a number of short epigrammatic lines, it is not by its gems that his poetry shall be judged. Vol. ii. contains Ken's most ambitious effort, the epic poem, containing, however, a considerable didactic element, of *Edmund* (the Anglian King and Saint). Comprising not less than thirteen books, and written in the heroic couplet, it cannot escape the charge of dullness, either by virtue of its Miltonic machinery of good and bad angels, or because of the excellent sense with which early in the poem the ideal of a government in both church and State is worked out. The remainder of the volume is made up of the *Hymnarium* or *Hymns on the Attributes of*

*God*, one of the most characteristic of Ken's lyrical series, full of long words and other mannerisms, now in Cowley's style, now almost in Mme. Guyon's, but rarely altogether devoid of the informing spirit. It is dedicated to Bishop Hooper of Bath and Wells, for whom Ken cherished an unbroken regard; and a pleasing "*Ritornello*" at the close once more commends his offering of song to his "venerable friend's judicious, candid eye." *Hymnotheo* or *the Penitent*, which with the short series of lyrical pieces called *Anodynes* fills vol. iii., is on the whole the most interesting of Ken's productions in verse. Dean Plumptre, i. 60 *seqq.*, describes it as an "idealised autobiography," and elsewhere gives many illustrations of this conception. The poem, in which there is again a good deal of Miltonic machinery, runs a course of great length, not always very easy to be followed, before it returns to Smyrna whence the argument set forth, adapting for its purposes a story told by Clement of Alexandria of the recovery by St. John the Evangelist of a Smyrneote catechumen, who had fallen away from religion and virtue. It is at a festival held in honour of Homer in his native city that the purified Hymnotheo, appealing to suggestions in the teaching of Homer himself, preaches the Gospel of Christ. The *Anodynes* have a biographical interest of a different kind; they speak of sacred song as the only remedy the author has found during ten years of pain; but extremes meet, and the good prelate insistence upon his living "entombment" recalls the agony of—Heinrich Heine. In the last volume, the most notable series are that entitled *Psyche, or Magdalum*, and its continuation *Sion, or Philothea*, which necessarily remind us of the relations between Ken and such beautiful souls as Lady Maynard and Lady Warwick. *Urania, or the Spouse's Garden*, suggests similar associations. *Euthanasia, or Preparation for Death*, mingles the didactic with the lyrical element. The volume concludes with a few *Imitations of Horace*, who on this occasion appears as a religious singer.

Ken's *Morning, Evening and Midnight Hymns*, as to which Dean Plumptre, ii. 210 *seqq.*, has brought together so much learning, and certain other lyrics cited in his biography, have no place in Hawkins' edition of Ken's Poems. But there are not a few passages in the verse printed in this edition which illustrate the *Hymns* familiar to many who have never even heard of *Hymnotheo*. I have no space for citing these passages; although it would, for instance, have been easy to show

how the following stanza as it were merely condenses a whole range of thought and fancy familiar to the writer :

"The faster sleep the sense doth bind,  
The more unfetter'd is the Mind ;  
O may my Soul, from Matter free,  
Thy unvail'd Goodness waking see !"

I agree with Dean Plumptre (ii. 223) in thinking that Ken's poems "have a merit of their own which his biographers have not taken into adequate account." His defects—and his excesses—are on the surface :—divers peculiarities of diction, a liking for an occasional (but it is not more than an occasional) conceit, and a curious indifference to lapses into prosiness and even to descents into bathos. But his verse is full of matter, and his tendency as a poet is not towards extravagance. The heavenward flight of his genius was on the whole sustained (to use one of his favourite figures) by the wings with which it had been endowed. What is strange is that he should have devoted so much time and effort to offerings of so slight an objective value or significance.]

I.

YOUR Book again, with Thanks !—Of worthy Men  
One of the worthiest was Bishop *Ken*.  
Without Offence to Authors,—far above  
Ten Men of Learning is one Man of Love.

1. *Your Book again, with Thanks !* I ate love, love bleeding, and crucified, and return your book, with thanks. As to the agonised.' Each step in the history of the book in question, cf. *Introduction*. Passion is brought before the reader, and

4. *One Man of Love*. "The characteristic feature of" Ken's *Practice of Divine Love, being an Exposition of the Church Catechism* (1683) "throughout is that the Catechism is turned in all its parts into a manual of devotion. The evolution of God in Christ is presented as the manifestation of an infinite and eternal love. Creation, redemption, sanctification are all proofs of that love. In words which remind us of those of Ignatius, Christ himself is 'love, afflicted and compassion-

every sentence opens with the words : 'I grieve and I love.'" (Plumptre's *Life of Bishop Ken*, i. 231.) The passage in St. Ignatius, Dean Plumptre adds in a note, "'O *ἐὶς* 'Εὐς ἐσταύρωται'" (*Ep. ad Rom.*, c. 7), is found, written in Ken's hand, on the fly-leaf of a copy of Andrewes' *Preces Privatae* at Longleat. He compares the original refrain of Wesley's Hymn xxvii., "My Lord, my Love is crucified." See also the hymn to Divine Love in *Hymnotheo*, Book xii. *ad fin.*

How many Bishops and Divines renown'd,  
Time after Time, the Catechism expound,—  
And which of all so help it to impart  
Th' essential Doctrine, Purity of Heart?

## II.

His Choice of Poetry, when civil Rage  
O'erturn'd a Throne the last revolving Age; 10  
When Churches felt, as well as States, the Shock  
That drove the pious Pastor from his Flock,—  
His Choice of Subjects, not of Party-kind,  
But simply fit for ev'ry Christian Mind,—  
Are Proofs of gen'rous Virtue and sublime,  
And high Encomiums on the Force of Rime.

## III.

His Rimes,—if those of *Dryden* or of *Pope*  
Excel on Subjects of a diff'rent Scope,  
It is because they only chose the Mould  
Where Ore shone brightest, whether Lead or Gold. 20

9. *The Catechism expound.* Ken's own *Exposition* is that referred to in the preceding note.

9. *His Choice of Poetry.* As against prose, the usual vehicle of controversy.

10. *The last revolving Age.* In the age of the last Revolution.

12. *That drove the pious Pastor from his Flock.* The formal deprivation of Ken as Bishop of Bath and Wells, and of the other Non-juring Bishops, took place on April 15th, 1691. The "driving" was, however, not altogether on the side of the Government.

13. *His choice of Subjects.* As to the subjects of Ken's principal contributions to English poetical literature see *Introductory Note, ante*. The subject of *Edmund*

can hardly be said to be "of a party-kind," although Ken introduced into his treatment of it certain references to Latitudinarianism and cognate subjects of contemporary interest; nor, since he hymned so many church festivals and fasts, is he to be blamed for remembering the Death of King Charles the Martyr and the Restoration.

16. *High Encomiums on the Force of Rime.* I am inclined to interpret this quite literally, since Ken, like Byrom himself, preferred rime to blank verse, and modelled his versification upon Cowley's (and perhaps upon Dryden's) rather than upon that of Milton, with whose poetry he must have been equally familiar.

20. *Where Ore shone brightest.* I.e., I suppose, among classical examples.

He, less concern'd for superficial Glare,  
Made Weight and Worth his more especial Care ;  
They took the Tinsel of the fabl'd Nine,  
He the substantial Metal from the Mine.

IV.

His Phrase (sometimes same sentence may be pass'd  
On theirs) might have more artificial Cast ;  
But, in the main, his Pieces, as they stand,  
Could scarce be alter'd by a second Hand.  
Patchwork Improvements, in the modern Style,  
Bestow'd upon some venerable Pile,  
Do but deface it. Poems to revise  
That *Ken* has writ, another *Ken* must rise.

30

V.

The Dedication, where the Case is shown  
Of a Greek Saint of old, so like his own,—

24. *He the substantial Metal.* He borrowed, however, a Siren or so (see *Edmund*, Bk. i.), and even condescended to imitate (while of course improving) Horace.

25, 26. *Sometimes same Sentence may be pass'd  
On theirs.*

"*Aliquando*," no doubt, even in the case of Pope, *sapius* in that of Dryden, splendidly careless of an occasional lapse.

26. *Might have more artificial Cast.* Ken, as hinted above, is occasionally prosaic, though he hardly ever sinks with the suddenness of Cowley. On the other hand, it is curious how his couplets occasionally have the Dryden ring, *e.g.* :

"His youthful Heat and Strength for Sin engage ;

God has the *Caput Mortuum* of his age ;"  
and :

"Whom no one fashionable Vice can taint,  
Who in a Sodom can continue Saint."

These couplets are among the examples of "the short epigrammatic lines to be found, not rarely, in Ken's poems," cited by Dean Plumptre, ii. 252-4.

29. *Patchwork Improvements, in the modern Style.* Is it possible that, in an unguarded moment, Byrom was thinking of Bentley's Milton? Of course he might have been thinking of Theobald's—nor only of Theobald's—Shakspeare. If, as is more likely, he meant modernisation, it can only be observed that his modesty erred in opining that the most perfect sympathy of mind or soul qualifies for such a task.

33, 34. *The Dedication, where the Case is shown*

*Of a Greek Saint of old, so like his own.*

The Preface, Introduction, and the View  
To *Jesus*,—Point which all his Works pursue,—

See Dean Plumptre, *u.s.*, ii. 249-50 :  
“ . . . He dedicates his first volume” (of  
the *Poems*) “to his friend and protector,  
Lord Weymouth. He compares his own  
retirement to that of Gregory of Nazian-  
zum, and he writes at least fourteen years  
after he had entered on the life of constant  
suffering of which his letters bear so many  
traces. In one respect, he says, his lot is  
happier than that of Gregory :—

‘ When I, my Lord, crush’d by prevailing  
    Might,  
No Cottage had where to direct my  
    Flight,  
Kind Heav’n me with a Friend Illustri-  
    ous bless’d,  
Who gives me Shelter, Affluence and  
    Rest.  
In this alone I Gregory outdo,  
That I much happier Refuge have in you ;  
Where to my Closet I to Hymn retire  
On this side Heav’n have nothing to de-  
    sire.

\* \* \* \* \*

I the small dol’rous Remnant of my days  
Devote to hymn my great Redeemer’s  
    Praise  
I, nearer as I draw towards Heavenly  
    Rest,  
The more I love th’ Employment of the  
    blest,’ &c.”

The similarity between the sufferings of  
the English Bishop and those of the “Greek  
Saint” is of course superficial only. When  
in his old age, and after many trials and  
disappointments, Gregory Nazianzen was  
against his wish installed by Theodosius  
in the See of Constantinople, the responsi-  
bility proved to be one which his strength  
was unable to meet ; and the last years of

his life were spent in retreat in his native  
land, among cares, thoughts and reminis-  
cences to which he gave memorable ex-  
pression in both prose and verse. His  
invective against Julian the Apostate,  
however, belongs as a matter of course to  
an earlier period of his career, and his  
principal efforts in this direction were  
(according to Gibbon) made public about  
six months after the Emperor’s death.

St. Gregory the Nazianzene was a fav-  
ourite author with Ken. See his *Pastoral  
Letter to his clergy concerning their be-  
haviour during Lent*, February 17th, 1688 :  
“ I would wish also that you would fre-  
quently read and meditate on the *Lamen-  
tations* of Jeremy, which holy Gregory  
Nazianzen was wont to do (*Orat.* xii.),  
and the reading of which melted him into  
the like lamentations as affected the pro-  
phet himself when he penn’d them.”  
(PLUMPTRE, *u.s.*, i. 245.) Byrom’s Lib-  
rary contains Gregory Nazianzen’s *In  
Julianum Invective duæ*, ed. R. Montagu  
(4to., Eton, 1610), and his *Odes* in Greek  
and Latin, bound up with the *Hymns* of  
Bishop Synesius of Cyrene (Paris, H.  
Stephan., 1568).

35, 36. *The Preface, Introduction, and  
the View*

To *JESUS*,—Point which all his  
Works pursue.

“ *The Preface*” consists of the lines “ *To  
the Reader*,” the “ *Introduction*,” a longer  
piece of a discourse between the shepherd  
Philhymow and Saint Andrew (to whom  
the cathedral of Wells is dedicated), end-  
ing with the announcement of the author’s  
design to promote the glory of Jesus by  
his hymns :

Arise to Mind, and tempt to try the Case  
Of representing the imperfect Trace ;  
To make, as Memory can best recall  
Its leading Thoughts, one Preface out of all. 40

VI.

Imagine, then, the good old Man reclin'd  
On Couch or Chair, and musing in his Mind,  
How to adjust the Prefatory Hint  
To all the Lines that he gave Leave to print ;  
Thinking on *Gregory*, whose former Fate  
Bore such Resemblance to his own of late ;  
Thinking on *Jesus* and, oppress'd with Pain,  
Inditing thus th' apologising Strain :

VII.

"In all my Pains I court the Sacred Muse ;  
Verse is the only Laudanum I use,— 50

"Songs best my dolorous hours employ  
and cheer,  
Songs which the Loves of JESUS shall  
recite,  
And in reflected Love take Heav'nward  
flight,—  
JESUS, the Name Propitious and Divine,  
The Christian's universal Anodyne."  
This "View to *Jesus*" is followed in the  
whole of the long series ensuing, in which  
the speakers strive in succession  
"each other to excite  
Hymn after Hymn on JESUS to indite."  
The referring of all things to Jesus is the  
keynote of Ken's theology. So he writes,  
in a passage cited by his biographer, *u.s.*,  
ii. 253 :  
"Short of my Aim I infinitely fall ;  
I love Thee, Lord, I love, and that is all."

50. *Verse is the only Laudanum I use.*  
See the stanzas in *Anodynes*, iv. (*Works*,  
iii. 397-8) beginning :  
"My friends, who with me sympathise,  
To *Opium* warmly me advise ;"  
and cf. PLUMPTRE, *u.s.*, ii. 199-200 : "The  
last eleven months of Ken's life (he died  
19th March, 1711), were passed under the  
discipline of acute suffering. All the  
worst symptoms . . . came back in an  
aggravated form. The series of poems  
under the head of *Anodynes* belong prob-  
ably to this period, and were the last fruit  
of the tree which had borne the *Morning*,  
*Evening*, and *Midnight Hymns* as its  
*primitia*. They tell their tale of constant  
pain and utter sleeplessness . . . He has  
tried opium, but it only beguiles him with  
stupefaction, and he will have no more of

R



Verse, and the Name of *Jesus* in the Line,  
 The Christian's universal Anodyne.  
 To hymn His saving Love to all Mankind  
 Softens my Grief, and recreates my Mind.  
 Thy Glory, *Jesus*, while my Songs intend,  
 May Thy good Spirit bless them to that End!

## VIII.

"Like destin'd *Jonah*, cast into the Deep  
 To save the Vessel from the stormy Sweep,  
 And wafted providentially to Shore,  
 I risk the boist'rous Element no more.  
 But whilst alone I tread the distant Strand,  
 Safe o'er the Waves that all may come to Land

60

it. He leaves the 'dull narcotic, numbing pain' to those who seek to silence their conscience, and chooses rather, like the great Pattern Sufferer, to set aside the 'spiced bowl,' which those who were crucified with Him, it may be, took freely . . . He tried other 'anodynes' of a different kind . . . books . . . friends . . . meditation . . . At last he fell back, in the spirit of his *Hymnotheo*, and after the pattern of the Psalmist sufferer—

'I some remission of my woes  
 Feel, while I hymns compose.  
 \* \* \* \* \*

And, when my pains begin to rage,  
 I them with hymns assuage.'

And in the series of poems which he groups together under the title of *Anodynes*, or *Alleviations of Pain*, and which fill some eighty-six pages of the third volume of his Poems, we have the fruit of these months of discipline."

His physician, Dr. Merewether, noted

in his *Diary* that during the day or two preceding Ken's death, "what little he spake was sometimes not coherent; which, having been plied with opiates" (his power of resistance having presumably passed away) "seemed to be rather the effect of dream than of distemper." (*Ib.*, ii. 202.)

It may, perhaps, be added that "Ken was probably a total abstainer (he identifies the vine in his *Hymnotheo* with the forbidden fruit which 'brought death into the world and all our woe') and his only luxury was the coffee which he may have learnt to take at Oxford, and which appears, from the fact that his silver coffee-pot was the only article of plate he left behind him, to have been his favourite beverage till the end." (*Ib.*, i. 253-4.)

52. *The Christian's universal Anodyne*. See note to ll. 35, 36 ante.

57. *Like destin'd JONAH*. Like *Jonah*, predestined to be saved and to fulfil the purpose of God.

Whom once I call'd Companions on the Sea,  
I pray to *Jesus*, Whom the Winds obey.

IX.

"Thus *Nazianzen Gregory* of old,  
Whom Faction drove from his belovèd Fold,  
Could will a *Jonah's* Lot,—to be cast o'er,  
If his dismissal might the Calm restore.  
However short of this illustrious Saint,  
Yet I can find, from Virtues that I want, 70  
A Cause to pray that reigning Feuds may cease,  
To hope in *Jesus* for a calming Peace.

X.

"The Saint, expell'd by a tumultuous Rage,  
Cheer'd with Diviner Songs his drooping Age ;  
With Will resign'd in his retir'd Abode  
On Christian Themes compos'd the various Ode.  
Thus, to my Closet prompted to retire,  
Nothing on this Side Heav'n do I require,  
Employ'd in Hymns, tho' with unequal Skill,  
To consecrate to *Jesus* all my Will. 80

XI.

"With Pain and Sickness when the Saint was griev'd,  
His anxious Mind a Sacred Song reliev'd ;  
Oft, when oppress'd, the Subject which he sang,  
Mix'd with Devotion, sweeten'd ev'ry Pang.  
So, being banish'd by unruly Heat,  
With Hymns I seek to solace my Retreat.  
Be my Confinement ever so extreme,  
The Love of *Jesus* is a Special Theme.

64. *JESUS, Whom the Winds obey.* the sea obey him?" (*St. Matthew*, viii. 27.)  
"But the men marvelled, saying, what manner of man is this, that even the winds and 65. *Thus NAZIANZEN GREGORY of old.*  
See note to ll. 33, 34, *ante*.

## XII.

"When the Apostate *Julian* decreed  
That Pagan Poets Christians should not read,  
The Saint, who knew the subtle Edict's Cause,  
Made Verse to triumph o'er the Tyrant's Laws.  
May I, while Poetry is unrestrain'd,  
Tho' more in these than pagan Times profan'd,  
Show that what real Charms it has belong  
To *Jesus*, Founder of the Christian Song!

90

## XIII.

"When *Gregory* was forc'd to leave his Flock,  
He chose in Verse the Gospel to unlock,

89. *When the Apostate JULIAN decreed  
That Pagan Poets Christians should  
not read.*

"A just a severe censure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric. The motives alleged by the Emperor to justify this partial and oppressive measure might command, during his lifetime, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. Julian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS; he contemptuously observes, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of science; and he vainly contends, that if they refuse to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought to content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galileans." (*Decline and Fall*, ch. xxiii.)

93. *While Poetry is unrestrain'd.* Free from any restriction. See the passage quoted from Ken's *Edmund* in a note to the succeeding piece.

96. *Founder of the Christian Song.*

This idea is developed at length in Ken's *Essay on Hymn* (*Works*, i. 191 seq.): Hymning, he there says, had taken flight to Heaven, and the human race had sunk to inharmonious prose, till Christ recovered this lost grace.

"Th' Incarnate Word, in whose unbounded Mind

Incomprehensible Ideas shin'd,  
Knew what would please his Mighty FATHER best,

And his Devotion in a Hymn express'd.  
And when he, risen from the Dead, was freed

From *Jews'* and Devils' Spite, which made him bleed,

He in the Church first Hymn'd his FATHER's Name."

The former reference seems to be to *St. Mark*, xiv. 26: "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the Mount of Olives;" the later is more vague.

98. *He chose in Verse the Gospel to unlock.* The *Χριστός πᾶσι*, formerly attributed to St. Gregory the Nazianzene, is now no longer thought to be his; so that the reference may be restricted to his lyrical verse.

That flowing Numbers might th' Attention gain,  
 So long forbidden to his preaching Strain. 100  
 My Care for them whom I was forc'd to leave,  
 Taught and untaught what Doctrine to receive,  
 Would hint in Rimes to all whom they shall reach,  
 What *Jesus* only in themselves can teach.

XIV.

"For sake of Peace did *Gregory* withdraw,  
 And wish'd more Leaders to observe that Law  
 By which Resigners of Dominion here  
 Purchase much greater in the Heav'nly Sphere.  
 In Hopes of Peace, more joyfully I shook  
 Preferment off than e'er I undertook ; 110  
 For all the Flock, and banish'd Head beside,  
 My Comfort is that *Jesus* can provide.

XV.

"When worldly Politics and Lust of Rule

102. *Taught and untaught what Doctrine to receive.* Both those who had, and those who had not, been duly instructed in the doctrines of their faith : both the older and the younger.

104. *What Jesus only in themselves can teach.* What can be fully manifested to them only by the Operation of the Divine Spirit in themselves. A mystic turn.

107. *Resigners of Dominion.* Notwithstanding Bishop Ken's formal protest from the throne in his Cathedral, at the time of his deprivation, his subsequent conciliatory conduct, and his virtual acknowledgment of Bishop Hooper of St. Asaph as his (second) successor in the diocese of Bath and Wells, justify the application of this term to him. The "drowning of discord" (l. 118) at all events was an object which he steadily kept in view, even while he

maintained an attitude of passive resistance. The spirit in which he accepted his own situation is indicated by a passage in his letter to Burnet (*ap. PLUMPTRE*, ii. 49) : "Though I do daily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God, I cannot accuse myself of insincerity : so that deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for myself." He is not, however, quite correctly described (ll. 109-110) as "joyfully shaking off preferment," unless the expression is to be interpreted as an allusion to his declining the offer, or suggestion, made with Queen Anne's approval soon after her accession that he should return to the see of Bath and Wells (Bishop Kidder being translated to Carlisle), with a prospect of the Primacy at the next vacancy. (See *PLUMPTRE*, ii. 119.)

Prevail'd against him in a Christian School,  
 The Saint retir'd, and labour'd to disperse  
 Ungrateful Discord by harmonious Verse.  
 Sharing his Fate, I share in his Desire  
 Of Discord drown'd and of an hymning Lyre,  
 To tune the Hopes of Peace and in the Name  
 Of *Jesus*, rightly hop'd for, to proclaim.

120

## XVI.

"This Prince of Peace, This Origin Divine,  
 Vouchsafe to aid the well-intended Line,—  
 To teach the Reader's Heart and by His Grace  
 Make these poor Labours useful in their Place!  
 O might they raise in any single Soul  
 One Spark of Love, one Glimpse of the great Whole,  
 That will possess it when by Thee possest,  
*Jesus*, th' Eternal Song of all the blest!"

114. *In a Christian School.* At Constantinople.

121. *This Origin Divine.* "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending,

119. *To tune the Hopes of Peace.* To saith the Lord." (*Rev.*, i. 8.)  
 sound or hymn them.

## A HINT TO CHRISTIAN POETS.

[For Byrom's assertion that in his youth he had only taken to the Classics by constraint, see the *Epistle to a Friend on the Art of English Poetry*, ll. 27 *seqq.*, vol i. p. 396 *ante*; and as to his professed dislike of Classical poets and poetry, cf. *ib.*, 502.

I have also already cited a curious passage in the *Remains* (ii. 181), in which Byrom is found "wondering" at the advice both Law and John Wesley were reported to have given, to the effect that: "If any like reading the Heathen poets, let them have their full swing of them!" Narrow as Byrom's views on this subject are, they are more endurable than those of his favourite Bishop Ken, who opined that

"Pagans of true Hymn ne'er had the taste,  
 And ev'ry God they sang, they but disgrac'd."

(See *An Essay on Hymn*, Ken's *Works* (London, 1721), i. 197.)

As to Byrom's aversion to the stage, in which he was fully in accord with Law, cf. *ante*, vol. i. p. 139. The moral indignation of the last two of the following stanzas recalls Dryden's confession (*To the Pious Memory of Mrs. Anne Killigrew*, 1686), which by no means stands alone in his works, except for its magnificent power of expression :

"O gracious God ! how far have we  
Profaned thy heavenly gift of Poesy !  
Made prostitute and profligate the Muse,  
Debased to each obscene and impious use,  
Whose harmony was first ordained above  
For tongues of angels and for hymns of love !"]

I.

WHERE now the *Jove*, the *Phæbus*, and the *Nine*,  
Invok'd in Aid of Greek, and Roman Line ;  
The Verse-inspiring Oracle and Stream,  
*Delphos* and *Helicon*, and every Theme  
Of charming Fictions, which the Poets sung,  
To shew the Beauties of a reigning Tongue ?

II.

The Wars of Gods and Goddesses and Men  
Employ'd an *Homer's* and a *Virgil's* Pen ;  
An *Epicurus* taught that with this Ball  
The Gods at Ease had no Concern at all ;  
And a *Lucretius* follow'd, to rehearse  
His *Greek* Impieties in *Latin* Verse.

III.

Such were the Bibles of the Pagan Age,  
Sung at the Feast and acted on the Stage,—  
Transform'd to pompous or to luscious Ode,  
As *Bacchus*, *Mars*, or *Venus* was the Mode,—

4. DELPHOS. Delphoi (Delphi) derived special reference is of course to the celebrated passage, *De Rerum Naturâ*, v.  
12. A LUCRETIIUS followed. The 148 seqq.

Dumb Deities, at Wit's profuse Expense  
Worshipp'd with Sounds that echoed to no Sense.

## IV.

The *Christian* Bard has, from a *real* Spring  
Of Inspiration, other Themes to sing: 20  
No vain Philosophy, no fabled Rime,  
But Sacred Story, simple and sublime,  
By holy Prophets told, to whom belong  
The Subjects worthy of the Pow'rs of Song.

## V.

Shun then, ye born with Talents that may grace  
The most important Truths, their hapless Case!  
From ranting, high, theatrical Bombast  
To low Sing-song of meretricious Cast,  
Shun ev'ry Step by which a *Pagan* Muse  
Could lead her Clients to the Stage or Stews! 30

## VI.

Let no Examples tempt you to profane  
The Gift, abhorrent of all hurtful Strain ;  
Contemn the vicious, tho' prevailing, Fame  
That gains by prostituting Verse a Name ;  
Take the forbearing Hint, and all the rest  
Will rise spontaneous in your purer Breast !

18. *With Sounds that echoed to no Sense.*  
"Tis not enough no harshness gives offence,  
The sound must seem an echo to the sense."  
(Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 364-5.)

19. *The CHRISTIAN Bard*, &c. Cf.  
Bishop Ken's *Edmund*, Bk. iii. (*Works*,  
*u.s.*, il. 81):

"That Poet his great Genius on mere Toys,  
On Wanton Beauty or on Wine employs;  
Did he not thoughtless clip his lofty  
Wing,

Of Heavenly Themes he nobler strain  
would sing."

27, 28. *From ranting, high, theatrical  
Bombast*

*To low Sing-song of meretricious  
Cast.*

From the bombast of Tragedy to the sing-  
song of Opera.

33. *Prevailing.* Fashionable.

35. *The forbearing Hint.* The hint to  
forbear.

• ON THE DISPOSITION OF MIND  
REQUISITE FOR THE RIGHT USE AND UNDERSTANDING  
OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

[See the Parable of the Sower, *St. Matthew*, xiii. 3-23.]

I.

TO hear the Words of Scripture or to read  
With good Effect, requires a *threefold* Heed;  
If incomplete, it only can produce  
Hearings and Readings of no sort of Use.

II.

The first, INTENTION;—or, a fix'd Design  
To learn the Truth concerning Things Divine.  
If previous Disposition be not good,  
How shall a serious Point be understood?

III.

The next, ATTENTION;—not the outward Part,  
But the fair List'ning of an honest Heart. 10  
Sound may, and Figure, strike the Ear and Eye,  
But Sense and Meaning to the Mind apply.

IV.

The last, RETENTION;—or, the keeping pure  
From hurtful Mixtures what is clear and sure.  
In vain the Purpose and the Pains have been  
To gain a Good, if not secur'd within.

V.

Without INTENTION, Truth no more can stay  
Than Seed can grow upon a public Way;

S



The more it is affecting, plain and grand,  
The less will heedless Persons understand. 20

## VI.

Without ATTENTION, 'twill have no more Fruit  
Than Seed on stony Ground, for want of Root,  
That makes a Show with hasty Shoots awhile,  
And then betrays the Barrenness of Soil.

## VII.

Without RETENTION, all is lost at last,  
Like Seed among the Thorns and Briars cast.  
So worldly Cares and worldly Riches both  
May mix with Truth, and choke it in its Growth.

## VIII.

As Ground produces goodly Crops of Corn,  
If good and free from Footstep, Stone or Thorn, 30  
That of good Hearts has Properties as plain  
To *seek* the Truth, *receive* it and *retain*.

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## ON THE SAME SUBJECT,

IN A LETTER TO MR. PONTHEIU.

[I have tried in vain to identify Byrom's "worthy friend Ponthieu," whose name does not occur in the *Remains*.

The spirit of these lines, which after the manner of the Mystics appeal to faith in the individual soul for corroboration of the written truths of the Bible, is above all cavil and calls for no comment. Byrom's age had not been awakened to the conception of the historical method of criticism, from which the Bible cannot be exempted, and from which its authority has gained more than that of any other book.]

WE ought to read, my worthy Friend *Ponthieu*,  
All holy Scriptures with a Scripture-View.  
Writ for our Learning, as their Aim and Scope  
Is Patience, Comfort and the blessèd Hope  
Of everlasting Life, a Reader's Aim,  
To understand them right, should be the same.

The Prosecution of this happier Quest  
If Doubts and Difficulties shall molest,  
And huge Debates on Passages obscure  
Be suffer'd to eclipse the plain and sure : 10  
The more he reads, the more this rambling Art  
Will fill his Head, but never touch his Heart ;  
With controversial Circumstances fill,  
On which the Learnèd have employ'd their Skill  
With such Success, that scarce the plainest Text  
Can be produc'd, but what they have perplex  
In such a Manner that, while all assign  
To Scripture-Page Authority Divine,  
The Compliment is rather paid for Sake  
Of such Constructions as they please to make. 20

Down from the Pope to the obscurest Sect,  
Too many Proofs are seen of this Effect,—  
Of making one same Scripture a Retreat  
For ev'ry Party's opposite Conceit.  
Profaner Wits, observing this, mistook,  
And laid the Fault upon the Bible-Book,—  
Taking the same Variety of Ways,  
By fancied Meanings for its ancient Phrase,

3. *Writ for our Learning.* "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." (*1st Epistle to Timothy*, iii. 16.)
21. *Down from the Pope.* The reference is not to the quoting by any particular Pope of Scripture for his purpose, but to the appeal made to Scripture for the confirmation of particular doctrines of the Church of Rome, such as the Supremacy of the Pope itself.

To cry it down, as Sects were wont to use  
To cry it up for their peculiar Views. 30

As this Excess from Age to Age has grown  
To such a monstrous Height within our own,  
What a sincere, impartial, honest Mind  
In Search of Truth does it require to find!  
What calm Attention, what unfeign'd Desire  
To hear its Voice does Truth itself require!  
In Scripture Phrase, what an "unceasing Pray'r"  
Should for its sacred Influence prepare!  
Because, whatever Comments we recall,  
The Disposition of the Mind is all. 40

'Tis in this Point, undoubtedly the main,  
That Sacred Books do differ from profane.  
They do not ask so much for letter'd Skill  
To understand them, as for simple Will.  
For as a single or clear-sighted Eye  
Admits the Light like an unclouded Sky,  
So is the Truth, by Scripture-Phrase design'd,  
Received into a well-disposèd Mind  
By the same Spirit, ready to admit  
The written Word, as they possess'd who writ,— 50  
Who writ, if Christians do not vainly boast,  
By Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

In Books so writ this great Advantage lies,  
That the First Author of them never dies,  
But is still present to instruct, and show  
To them who seek Him what they need to know,—  
Still by His chosen Servants to unfold,  
As He sees fit, the Mysteries of old ;

37. *In Scripture Phrase.* See *1st Epistle to the Thessalonians*, v. 17: "Pray without ceasing."

To re-confirm what any Sacred Pen  
Has writ, by Proof within the Hearts of Men. 60

This is the true and solid Reason why  
No Difficulties, now objected, lie  
Against the Volumes writ so long ago,  
And in a Language that few People know,—  
Subject as Books to Errors and Mistakes  
Which oft transcribing or translating makes ;  
While Manners, Customs, Usages or Phrase,  
Well-known of old, but not so in our Days,  
For many obvious Reasons must elude  
The utmost Force of criticising Feud. 70  
Still, all Editions verbally contain  
The simple necessary Truths and plain  
Of Gospel-Doctrine ; and the Spirit's Aid,  
Which is the chief, is not at all decay'd.

Nor can it hurt a Reader to suspend  
His Judgment, where he does not comprehend  
A darker Text ; however it appear,  
He knows it cannot contradict a clear.  
So that with all the Helps of ev'ry Kind  
The shortest and the surest is to mind, 80  
When read or heard, and inwardly digest  
The plainest Texts as Rules to all the rest ;  
To pray for that Good Spirit, which Alone  
Can make Its former Inspirations known,—  
The Promis'd Comforter, th' Unerring Guide,  
Who by Christ's Word was always to abide  
Within His Church, not only in the past,  
But in all Ages, while the World should last,—

79, 80.

*To mind*

for our learning, &c."

*When read or heard, and inwardly digest.*

86. *By Christ's Word.* "And I will

Cf. the Collect for the Second Sunday  
in Advent: "Blessed Lord, who hast  
caused all Holy Scriptures to be written

pray the Father, and he shall give you an-  
other Comforter, that he may abide with  
you for ever." (*St. John*, xv. 16.)

A Church distinguish'd in the Sacred Code  
By His Perpetual Guidance and Abode.

90

Such is the Teacher Whom our Saviour chose,  
And writ no Books, as human Learning knows,—  
Loth as it is, of later Years, to preach  
That by This Teacher He will always teach ;  
Bless all the Means of Learning, or the Want,  
To them who after His Instructions pant.  
Of reading Helps, what holy Men express'd,  
When mov'd to write, are certainly the best ;  
But for the real, understanding Part  
The Book of Books is ev'ry Man's own Heart.

100

89. *In the Sacred Code.* According to between our Lord and Abgarus, King of the Divine ordinance. Edessa.

92. *As.* So far as. Byrom can hardly be hinting at the fictitious correspondence

95. *The Want.* The desire for it.

## ON THE CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

[George Lord Lyttelton's *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul*, in a Letter to Gilbert West, Esq., were first published (anonymously) in 1747. My quotations are from the 4th ed<sup>n</sup>, 1749. Of this book Mr. Leslie Stephen (*History of English Thought*, &c., i. 150) writes, that it is "described by Johnson as 'a treatise to which infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer.' The author professes to show that Paul's conversion was alone a sufficient demonstration of the divine character of Christianity. The usual arguments as to the absence of motive, the difficulty of securing the necessary accomplices and of carrying on a cheat against the scepticism of the Gentiles . . . are triumphantly alleged to prove that St. Paul was not a deliberate imposter. The more reasonable alternative, that he was an 'enthusiast,' which may be regarded as an indistinct anticipation of the modern view, is equally impossible, because his zeal was tempered by prudence ; he was not melancholy, nor ignorant, nor credulous ; for his conversion was slow, in spite of miracles which he saw ; nor vain, for did he not

humbly declare himself the last of the Apostles? . . . And, further, however great may be the power of imagination, it could not have made his companions hear the miraculous voice as well as himself, nor could it have induced a viper to bite without hurting him. Equally impossible was it that imagination should have taught him to speak with tongues. Finally, it is out of the question to suppose that Paul was the victim, instead of the originator, of a cheat; and hence we are driven to the only possible conclusion,—namely, ‘that he was divinely inspired.’”

I am, however, by no means sure that when composing the following verses Byrom was merely reproducing impressions derived by him from Lord Lyttelton's essay, although there are undeniable coincidences. Byrom's conclusion is indicated in his final line; while Lyttelton, in accordance with the school to which he belonged, appears to argue that it is “incomparably more probable that God's revelation should be in part incomprehensible to us than that St. Paul should have acted as he did upon any other foundation” (p. 103). “Some difficulties occur in the Divine revelation concerning the Christian religion which Reason can hardly clear, but the difficulties in the way of rejecting the evidence in its favour are far greater” (p. 107). “*If the glorious Light of the Gospel* be sometimes overcast with Clouds of Doubt, so is the Light of our *Reason* too. But shall we deprive ourselves of the Advantage of *either*, because those Clouds cannot perhaps be entirely removed while we remain in this mortal Life? . . . Shall Man presume that his weak and narrow Understanding is sufficient to guide him *into all Truth*, without any Need of *Revelation or Faith?*” (pp. 110-111.)

Byrom, it will be observed, interprets the Conversion of St. Paul as a regeneration of his inner man by the Divine Light,—the new birth of his spirit by the revelation of Christ in it. Thus, as the conclusion of the poem expresses it, the miracle demonstrated the utter inadequacy of that Reason whereby the unconverted Saul had previously sought to guide his conduct. This is quite in harmony with Law's teaching. See, for instance, *The Spirit of Love*, Part i. p. 59 (*Works*, vol. viii): “Since Reason can neither give Life nor Death to any one Thing in Nature, but every Thing lives, or dies, according to the Working of its own Properties, every Thing, dead and alive, gives forth a Demonstration, that Nature asks no Counsel of Reason, nor stays to be directed by it. Hold it therefore for a certain Truth, that you can have no Good come

into your Soul, but only by the *one Way* of a Birth from above, from the *Entrance of the Deity* into the Properties of your own soulish Life. Nature must be set right, its Properties must enter into the Process of a new Birth, it must work to the Production of Light, before the Spirit of Love can have a Birth in it."]

## I.

IN *Paul's* Conversion we discern the Case  
Of human Talents wanting Heav'nly Grace.  
What Persecutions, till he saw the Light,  
Against the Christian Church did he excite !  
By his own Reason led into Mistake,  
Amongst the Flock what Havoc did he make ;  
Within himself when verily he thought,  
That all the while he did but what he ought !

## II.

His Use of Reason cannot be denied,  
Nor legal Zeal, nor moral Life beside,—  
Blameless as any *Jew* or *Greek* could claim  
Who show'd Aversion to the Christian Name.  
His Fund of Learning some are pleas'd to add ;  
And yet, with all th' Endowments which he had,  
From Place to Place with eager Steps he trod,  
To persecute the real Church of God.

10

10. *Legal Zeal.* Zeal for the Law. "His Writings breathe nothing but the strictest Morality, Obedience to Magistrates' Order and Government." LYTTLETON, *Observations*, &c., p. 29.

11. *Could claim.* Could claim to be.

13. *His Fund of Learning some are pleas'd to add.* Neander has no doubt put this part of the matter on the right basis. "The few passages from the Greek poets which we meet with in his discourse at Athens, and in his *Epistles*, do not prove that his education had made him familiar with Grecian literature; nor is it probable

that such would be the case. As his parents designed him to be a teacher of the law, or Jewish theologian, his studies must have been confined in his early years to the Old Testament, and about the age of twelve or thirteen, he must have entered the school of Gamaliel. It is possible, though, considering Paul's pharisaic zeal, not probable, that the more liberal views of his tolerant-minded teacher Gamaliel might induce him to turn his attention to Grecian literature. . . . But in the style of his representations, the Jewish element evidently predominates. His peculiar

III.

When to *Damascus* for the like Intent  
 With the High Priest's Authority he went,  
 Struck to the Ground by a Diviner Ray  
 The "reas'ning, legal, moral Zealot" lay ; 20  
 To the plain Question put by JESUS, " Why  
 Persecute Me ? " had only to reply,  
 " What shall I do ? "—His Reason and his Wrath  
 Were both convinc'd, and he embrac'd the Faith.

IV.

His outward lost, his inward Sight renew'd,  
 Truth in its native Evidence he view'd.  
 With three Days Fast he nourish'd his Concern ;  
 And, a new Conduct well prepar'd to learn,  
 Good *Ananias*, whom he came to bind,  
 Was sent to cure and to baptise the Blind. 30  
 A destin'd Martyr to his *Jewish* Zeal  
 Of *Christian* Faith confers the sacred Seal.

V.

Of nobler Use his Reason, while it stood  
 Without a *Conference* with *Flesh* and *Blood*,  
 Still and submissive ; when within begun  
 The Father's Revelation of the Son ;

mode of argumentation was not formed in the Grecian, but in the Jewish school." (*History of the Planting, &c., of the Christian Church, E. Tr.*, 1851, pp. 80-81.)

17 *seqq.* When to DAMASCUS, &c. See *Acts*, ix. 1 *seqq.*

23. *His Wrath.* His unconverted state of nature ; though there may be an allusion to his "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord" (*ib.*).

29. *Whom he came to bind.* Ananias, as one of the disciples at Damascus, was one of those whom the letters of the High Priest empowered Saul to "bring bound unto Jerusalem" (*ib.*, x. 2).

30. *To cure and to baptise the Blind.* See *ib.*, ix. 17-18.

34. *Without a CONFERENCE with FLESH and BLOOD.* No longer hampered by the working of the unchanged "properties" of Saul's nature.

T



Whom, till the *Holy Spirit* rise to show,  
 No Pow'r of Thought can ever come to know.  
 The Saving Mystery, obscur'd by Sin,  
 Itself must manifest Itself *within*.

40

## VI.

. Thus, taught of God, *Paul* saw the Truth appear  
 To his enlighten'd Understanding clear.  
 The Pow'r of Christ Himself, and nothing less  
 Could move Its Persecutor to profess ;  
 He learn'd and told It from the Real Ground,  
 And prov'd to all the *Christian* World around,  
 That true Religion had its true Foundation  
 Not in Man's *Reason*, but God's *Revelation*.

42. *His enlighten'd Understanding*. His understanding, renewed by the Divine Light. (Romans, i. 22). LYTTELTON, u.s., p. 56 ; who, *ib.*, pp. 58-9, cites *1st Corinthians*, ii. 4 : "My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of men's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power ;" and *1st Thessalonians*, i. 5 : "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost."

48. *Not in Man's REASON, but God's REVELATION*. "The Pride that was common to all the Philosophers, was of itself an almost invincible Obstacle against the Admission of the Evangelical Doctrines calculated to humble that Pride, and teach them, that 'professing them-

selves to be wise, they became Fools.'" (Romans, i. 22). LYTTELTON, u.s., p. 56 ; who, *ib.*, pp. 58-9, cites *1st Corinthians*, ii. 4 : "My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of men's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power ;" and *1st Thessalonians*, i. 5 : "Our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost."

## AN EPISTLE TO A GENTLEMAN OF THE TEMPLE,

OCCASIONED BY TWO TREATISES, WHEREIN THE FALL OF MAN IS DIFFERENTLY REPRESENTED ; VIZ. (1) MR. LAW'S SPIRIT OF PRAYER ;  
 (2) THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S APPENDIX : SHOWING THAT,  
 ACCORDING TO THE PLAINEST SENSE OF SCRIPTURE, THE  
 NATURE OF THE FALL IS GREATLY MISTAKEN IN  
 THE LATTER.

[This *Epistle*, from more points of view than one eminently characteristic of its author, was written and first published in the year 1749.

Of the two "treatises" discussed in it, Bishop Sherlock's *Appendix* to his *Dissertation on The Sense of the Ancients before Christ on the Circumstances and Consequences of the Fall, being A Further Enquiry into the Mosaic Account of the Fall*, was published in 1725 with the *Four Dissertations*, and with the *Six Discourses on The Use and Intent of Prophecy in the Several Ages of the World*, certain points in which these *Dissertations* illustrated. The *First Part* of Law's *Spirit of Prayer* was published in 1749, with the sub-title of *The Soul Rising out of the Vanity of Time into the Riches of Eternity*. (The *Second Part* was not published till 1750; see *Introductory Note to A Dialogue between Rusticus, Theophilus, and Academicus*, &c., *infra*.) It is natural enough that Byrom should have been led by the publication of Law's essay to refer to the Bishop of London's observations on the subject, more especially as in the *Spirit of Prayer* Law had given it as his opinion "that all the laborious Volumes on God's imputing *Adam's Sin* to his Posterity, ought to be considered as waste Paper." (A note to this passage in *The Works of William Law*, 1772, vii. 27, cites *A Letter to the Bishop of London*, not now identifiable.) The fact that Middleton's *Examination* of Sherlock's *Discourses* made its first appearance in 1750, would suggest that some special reason had then revived interest in the Bishop's production. (Cf. *Introductory Note to Remarks on Dr. Middleton's Examination*, &c., *infra*.)

The *Epistle* was doubtless addressed to "a Templar," because Sherlock held the Mastership of the Temple, an office to which he was appointed in 1704, and which he continued to occupy till 1754, although filling the sees of Bangor, Salisbury and London from 1727, 1734 and 1748 respectively. The particular "Templar" addressed has been conjectured (*Remains*, ii. 520, *note*) to have been the eminent city surgeon John Freke, who was intimate with Richardson (cf. *ib.*, 521, where Law informs Byrom that "Mr. Freke and Richardson correct the proof-sheets" of *Enthusiasm*; and cf. *ante*, vol. i. p. 260), and honourably known to Fielding. (See the references to *Tom Jones* in Dr. Norman Moore's notice of Freke in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xx. It is, I suppose, merely a curious coincidence that, according to the same authority, p. 247, a mystical writer and eccentric named William Freke (1662-1744) was a Templar, and apparently resided in London in the earlier part of his life.) On October 21st, 1751, Byrom writes to Law :

"I told Mr. Freke, I remember, that the Bishop had too much sense to be angry at it, and when he saw him he was saluted with—'Well, have you helped Dr. B. to make his verses?'—and when he came away,—'You may tell your friend that I don't take it amiss.'" (*Remains*, ii. 521.) It must, however, be allowed that the evidence as to Freke's identity with "the Templar" is incomplete.

The first edition of the *Epistle*, which was handsomely printed, without the author's name, in large 8vo, and sold for one shilling by R. Spavan, at the Crown in Ivy Lane, seems to have only gradually attracted attention. On October 3rd, 1751, Law, while apparently urging Byrom to versify his *Appeal to All that Doubt*, &c., says that he has "lately received two or three sheets of paper, the remarks of a very learned and ingenious Deist upon the *Appeal* . . . He has this postscript: 'I have read Dr. Byrom's poem. I think it an admirable one; and was I to believe the Fall at all, it certainly should be his system of it, far preferably to that of the Bishop's.'" In reply, Byrom writes to Law, October 10th: "*Mon cher Maître*, When I left you at Cliffe I fully purposed what I promised; but finding that the *Epistle* had not reached these parts, and not caring to prejudice our people *pro* or *con* by my speaking of it, I waited for what I most desired to see,—the genuine reception that it would meet with without favour or disfavour to the writer. It was some time before one of them was sent for by a bookseller, which the person who had ordered it left in his hands to dispose of, being disappointed in his expectation that he had framed about it. One of your liking readers coming into the shop, was offered it for eightpence, and made the purchase, and suspecting, upon perusal, what hand it came from, occasioned several to be sent for, and to be well or ill received, I doubt, with more regard to persons than to truth, which I rather wished to see the effect of . . . In the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des Savans de l' Europe pour les mois d' Octobre, Novembre et Décembre, 1749*, previous to a very unjust conclusion about the *Spirit of Prayer*, &c., there is a very just one of the *Epistle*, viz., '*L'auteur n' a guère fait que copier les idées du livre mentionné dans le titre.*' If the *raisonneur* had intended a compliment, he would hardly have made one so agreeable; for to copy true ideas that appear to be grand, simple, salutary, was the intention of the verse; and if they who imagine the ideas to be false allow the copy to be true, I should not scruple to call it, with your

Deist, an admirable poem, though that compliment from him can amount to no more as yet than as to an admirable romance." (*Remains*, ii. 516-9.) On October 17th, Law writes to Byrom: "The letter to the Templar wants to be reprinted;" and Byrom answers on October 21st: "The letter to the Templar does indeed want to be reprinted; it has been oft enquired for here" [at Manchester] "of late, and cannot be met with. Mr. Richardson was so willing to print it upon hearing" [it] "repeated at first that I should have him to print it, and, if you have no objection, the other" (*Enthusiasm*) "too—but what publisher you please; for the last some gentlemen objected to, but a kind of fear of the Bishop's displeasure I believe made him to be pitched upon . . . I was told by an honest, well-inclin'd man a while ago that he wished that the *Letter* might be printed in the same compass with the *Spirit of Prayer*. If it were done both ways, the connexion that it has with that would I daresay procure it purchasers, and the smaller edition especially, because of the intention hinted to me of binding them up together; without which I may be jealous in my turn" (Law had expressed a fear that Byrom might, for aught he knew, "sing" his (Law's) "prose out of date,") "that the verse will drop for want of its support—it wants to cling like ivy to an oak. The tree I hope will root and flourish, whatever becomes of the little shrubs that aspire to embrace it." (*Remains*, ii. 519-521.) As to the connexion between Byrom and Samuel Richardson, cf. vol. i. p. 259, *ante*. I refer below to an edition of the *Epistle* published by Innys and Richardson, and, as will be seen in the *Introductory Note* to *Enthusiasm*, the first edition of that poem was in all probability printed by Richardson. A 12mo copy of the *Epistle* bearing the date of 1751, which I have seen, gives no publisher's name on the title-page, otherwise identical with that of the edition of 1749, except that after the words "two Treatises" there follows the rather audacious addition "just published." Neither the text of 1749, nor that of the reprint of 1751, present any differences from that of A. Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 130) contains a copy of the fourth edition of Law's *Spirit of Prayer*, 1758, bound up with the second edition of Sherlock's *Appendix*, 1749, and with Byrom's *Epistle*, 8vo, 1752; printed for W. Innys and J. Richardson in Paternoster Row.

Sherlock's *Appendix* on the *Mosaic Account of the Fall* was, he states, originally intended as an examination of the objections made to the

history of the Fall by the author of the literal Scheme of Prophecy (Whiston, whose *Literal Accomplishment of Scripture Prophecies* appeared in 1724). Sherlock's observations as to what we are to understand by the Serpent need, however, not concern us in connexion with Byrom's *Epistle*, except in so far as the supposed prophetic significance of the curse upon the serpent and the future blessing to man held to be involved in it (*Genesis*, iii. 14-15) are concerned. In affirming this view, Sherlock points out that there is nothing paradoxical in regarding a judicial sentence upon offenders, which exacts less than the law demands, as constituting at the same time an act of grace :

"Now in the principal case the law was, 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.'" [*Genesis*, ii. 17.] "By the sentence on Adam his death was respited, and he was to live to eat (though to eat in sorrow) of the fruits of the ground. By the sentence on Eve, she was to live to bring forth children, though the sorrows of conception foretold. By the sentence on the serpent, a perpetual enmity was declared between his and the woman's seed, and the event on each side foretold : 'It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.'" "

"Could Adam, comparing his present case on the foot of these sentences with the penalty of the law against which he had offended, possibly doubt whether God had dealt graciously with him? No more surely than a criminal doomed to live in imprisonment, when he might have been hanged by the law, can doubt of his prince's goodness to him." (*The Works of Bishop Sherlock*, 1830, iv. 205-6.)

This view of the "transaction," put (it must be allowed) in Sherlock's driest and most disagreeable lawyer's manner, was offensive to Byrom, fresh from the perusal of an essay in which Law had treated the same subject in a style which his biographer has justly described as "most fascinating" (Overton, *William Law*, p. 312)—it might indeed be described as a style of high poetic beauty—and in a spirit of convinced mysticism yearning to infuse in others the perfect assurance which he believed to have been vouchsafed to himself. "Prayer," *i.e.* a life of devotion to God, means man's living in accordance with the Divine Nature that is in him, "for the Sun meets not the springing Bud that stretches towards him with half that certainty as God, the Source of all Good, communicates himself to the Soul that longs to partake of Him." This conception leads to an exposition of the writer's view of the Fall, and of its significance for the history of mankind. Man "must be born again of the Spirit, because *Adam's* first heavenly *Spirit* was lost; He must be born again of *Water*, because that heavenly Body

which *Adam* <sup>1st</sup> was formed out of the heavenly Materiality, which is called *Water*. Thus in the *Revelation* of *St. John*, the heavenly Materiality, out of which the Bodies of the Angels and also of *Adam* were formed, is called a *Glassy Sea*, as being the nearest and truest Representation of it that can be made to our Minds. The Necessity of our regaining our first heavenly Body, is the Necessity of our eating the Body and Blood of *CHRIST*. The Necessity of having again our first heavenly Spirit, is declared by the Necessity of our being baptised by the Holy Ghost. Our *Fall* is nothing else but the Falling of our Soul from this celestial Body and Spirit into a *bestial* Body and Spirit of this World. Our rising out of our fallen State, or Redemption, is nothing else but the regaining our first angelic Spirit and Body, which in Scripture is called our 'inward, or new Man,' created again in Christ Jesus. See here, lastly, the true Ground of all the Mortifications of Flesh and Blood, required in the Gospel; it is because this *bestial Life* of this outward World should not have been opened in Man; it is his Separation from God, and Death to the Kingdom of Heaven; and, therefore, all its *Workings*, *Appetites* and *Desires* are to be restrained and kept under, that the first heavenly Life, to which Adam died, may have Room to rise up in us." (*The Spirit of Prayer*, Part I. 7th edition, 1773, in *The Works of William Law*, 1772, vol. vii. pp. 9-10.) This quotation, which I must leave uncompleted, sufficiently shows the line of argument, if the expression is to be used, followed by the beautiful flow of mystic eloquence of which the *Spirit of Prayer* may be said to consist, and by which Byrom was altogether carried away. The passage likewise illustrates a diction in which the imagery of Scripture is mixed with the phraseology of "Behmenism." With Law's conception of the Fall as a process by which Adam fell away from the Divine Nature which was in him, the supposition is of course irreconcilable, that it should have consisted of any single act of disobedience, committed in defiance of any arbitrary prohibition. The Fall of Man, as it seemed to Law, was rather a rebellious ignoring of the information vouchsafed by God to "this new-born offspring" concerning his relation to the material world; and the woe entailed upon Adam and his posterity by his transgression being the consequence of a course of action pursued by him in accordance with his own free will, was not the effect of severe vindictive wrath on the part of God. A bestial life having been awakened in the soul of Adam,

which thus lost that heavenly Birth which made it like an Angel of God, he fell,—not, however, like the Angels who presuming on their own natural powers fell into their own hell, but into the life of this world, into a sensibility of which he had sinfully lusted to enter.

To this “deeper” view of the Fall (which is stated with even greater precision in Law’s *Appeal to all that Doubt* (*Works*, vol. vi.), and is repeated in other of his treatises), Byrom would gladly see the Bishop brought. Undoubtedly the *Appendix* of the latter had shadowed forth nothing of the same power and profundity; but it seems to me that the question between his and Law’s interpretation is more largely a question of point of view than Byrom cared to admit, and above all, that in speaking of Adam as “living” after the Fall, Bishop Sherlock had no intention of seeking to impair the force of the Scriptural phrase (*1st Corinthians*, xv. 22), “As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive,”—expanded and developed by Law with so extraordinary an eloquence.

An allusion in this *Epistle* (l. 435), together with a passage of greater length and importance in *Enthusiasm*, occasioned Warburton’s correspondence with Byrom, as to which see the note on l. 435 *infra*, and the *Introductory Note* to that Poetical Essay.]

SIR, upon casting an attentive Look  
Over your Friend the learned SHERLOCK’S Book,  
One Thing occurs about the FALL of MAN,  
That does not suit with the *Mosaic* Plan,  
Nor give us fairly, in its full Extent,  
The Scripture Doctrine of that dire Event.

When tempted ADAM, yielding to Deceit,  
Presum’d of the forbidden Tree to eat,  
The Bishop tells us, that “he did not die.”  
Pray, will you ask him, Sir, the Reason why? 10  
Why he would contradict the sacred Text,  
Where Death to Sin so *surely* is annext?

9. That he “did not die.” See the passage cited from Sherlock’s *Appendix* in *Introductory Note*.

"The Day thou eatest," are the Words, you know ;  
And yet, by his Account, it was not so ;  
Death did not follow, tho' it surely would.—  
How will he make this hardy Comment good ?

"Sentence," says he, "was respited." But, pray,  
Where does the Scripture such a Saying say ?  
What Word that means to "respite" or "revoke"  
Appears in all that GOD or *Moses* spoke ? 20

It will be said, perhaps, that it appears,  
That *Adam* liv'd above Nine-hundred Years  
After his Fall.—True ; but what *Life* was *that* ?  
The very *Death*, Sir, which his *Fall* begat.  
The *Life* that *Adam* was created in  
Was lost the *Day*, the *Instant*, of his Sin.  
Just as the rebel Angels, when they fell,  
Were *dead* to Heav'n, altho' *alive* to Hell :

21. Perhaps, "now it.—B.

25. Life, which.—B.

13. "*The Day thou eatest.*" "For in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." (*Genesis*, ii. 17.)

15. *Tho' it surely would.* Though it was surely announced so to follow.

16. *Hardy.* Bold, audacious. (So, *Hardicanute*, *Charles le Hardy*, &c.)

17. "*Sentence,*" says he "*was respited.*" See the passage cited in *Introductory Note*.

22, 23. *ADAM liv'd above Nine-hundred Years*

*After his Fall.*

He lived nine-hundred and thirty years altogether ; but what is Byrom's authority for dating the Fall ?

27. *DEAD to Heav'n, altho' alive to HELL.* The passage, already referred to in my *Introductory Note*, seems worth

quoting at length : "The Angels that extinguished the Birth of Heaven in themselves, fell directly into the horrible Depths of their own strong self-tormenting Nature, or their *own Hell*, and that for these two Reasons. *First*, Because there was nowhere else for them to fall into, but into this tormenting Sensibility of their own fiery, wrathful, darkened Nature. *Secondly*, Because their Revolt from GOD was an Attempt and Intent to be higher and greater, by awakening and trusting to their own *natural Powers*, than they had hitherto been by Submission to GOD. They would have a Greatness that sprung only from *themselves*, and therefore they found *That* which they sought, they found themselves left to all the *Greatness* that was in themselves, and that was *their*

U



So Man, no longer breathing heav'nly Breath,  
Fell to this Life, and died the *Scripture Death*. 30

While in the State of Innocence he stood,  
He was all living, beautiful, and good ;  
But when he fed on the forbidden Fruit,  
Whereof Corruption was the latent Root,  
He died to Paradise and, by a Birth  
That should not have been rais'd, he *liv'd* to Earth ;  
Fell into bestial Flesh and Blood and Bones  
Amongst the Thorns and Briars, Rocks and Stones.  
That which had cloth'd him, when a Child of Light,  
With all its Lustre was extinguish'd quite ; 40  
Naked, asham'd, confounded and amaz'd,  
With *other* Eyes on *other* Scenes he gaz'd,  
All Sensibility of heav'nly Bliss  
Departing from him ;—what a *Death* was This !

His Soul, indeed, as an immortal Fire  
Could never die, could never not desire ;  
But, Sir, he had what glorious Angels claim,—  
An *Heav'nly* Spirit, and an *Heav'nly* Frame ;  
Form'd in the Likeness of the Sacred THREE,  
He stood immortal, powerful, and free ; 50

*Hell*, viz., a fiery Strength of a self-tormenting Nature, because separate from the one Source of Light and Love of Peace and Joy." (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 33-4.) This fine passage, with Byrom's lines, vv. 285 *seqq.*, *infra*, may be added to the many others parallel to Marlowe's "Why this is Hell, nor are we out of it." (*Doctor Faustus*, Sc. iii. l. 76.) In my Clarendon Press edition of *Doctor Faustus* I have collected some of these.

30. *Died the SCRIPTURE DEATH*. Died the death mentioned in Scripture. (*1st Corinthians*, xv. 22).

35, 36. *He died to Paradise and, by a Birth That should not have been rais'd, he lived to Earth.*

"No sooner had he got this Knowledge, by the opening the bestial Life and Sensibility within him, but in that Day, nay, in that Instant, *he died*; that is, his heavenly Spirit with its heavenly Body were both extinguished in him; but his Soul, an immortal Fire that could not die, became a poor Slave in Prison of bestial Flesh and Blood." (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 9.)

Image of *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*,  
The destin'd Sire of a new Heav'nly Host ;  
Partner of Their Communicated Breath,  
A *living* Soul, unsubjected to Death.  
Since, then, he fell from this sublime Estate,  
Could less than Death have been his real Fate ?  
No ; as in Life he chose not to abide,  
It must be said, that *Adam surely died*.

Say that he died not, as it was foretold,  
But when Nine hundred Years and Thirty old,— 60  
And then, if Death be Sentence for a *Fall*,  
How proves the Bishop that he died *at all* ?  
For if the Death he talks of be this last,  
How does *that* answer to the *Sentence* pass'd ?  
Was his Departure from *this World* the Time  
That our First Father suffer'd for his Crime ?  
One rather should believe, or hope at least,  
That (so be it !) his Sufferings then ceas'd ;  
And that the Life, which had been lost at first,  
Was then regain'd and he no longer curst. 70

If on the Bishop's Scutcheon, when he dies,  
(Long be the Time deferr'd !) the mourning Eyes

51. *Image of FATHER, SON AND HOLY GHOST.* "He was the Image and Likeness of God, not with any Regard to his outward Shape or Form, for no Shape has any Likeness to God ; but he was in the Image and Likeness of GOD, because the Holy Trinity had breathed their own Nature and Spirit into him." (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 6.) Cf. for a full statement of this conception, Law's treatise on *The Grounds and Reasons of Christian Regeneration* (*Works*, vol. v.). It also appears repeatedly in the *Answer to Dr. Trapp's Discourse* and in the *Appeal to all that Doubt* (*ib.*, vol. vi.).

71 *seqq.* *If on the Bishop's Scutcheon, when he dies, &c.* Apart from its argumentative bearing, this passage skilfully conveys a tribute to Sherlock's character, which seems on the whole well deserved. De Foe, not likely to be a prejudiced witness, in his *Tour through Great Britain*, speaks in high terms of the Bishop's activity and liberality at Salisbury. (See *Abbey's English Church and its Bishops, &c.*, ii. 54.)

Should read "MORS VITÆ JANUA," in Paint,  
 What must they think him,—Sinner, *then*, or Saint ?  
 Must not these Words direct them to suppose  
 An End of all a Christian Bishop's Woes,  
 Who, like to *Adam*, Father of Mankind,  
 Has pass'd his Time of Penitence enjoin'd ;  
 Who, like to CHRIST, the Second *Adam* too,  
 Had always had *Redemption* in his View ; 80  
 Had taught himself and others to revive  
 From "dead in Adam" to "in Christ alive ;"  
 Had been as true a Shepherd to his Flock,  
 As the poor Hind that really wears a Frock ;  
 So trod this earthly Passage that, in Sum,  
 "Death" was to him "the Gate of Life" become ?

Gate of *what* Life ? Undoubtedly the same  
 That *Adam* fell from, when he first became  
 A Creature of this World ; when first he fell,—  
 Thanks to Divine Fore-goodness !—not to Hell, 90  
 But to *this Earth*,—this State of Time and Place,  
 Where, dead by *Nature*, Man revives by *Grace* ;  
 Where, tho' his *outward* System must decay,  
 His *inward* ripens to eternal Day,—  
 Puts off th' *old Adam*, and puts on the *New*,—  
 And, having found the *First* sad Sentence true,  
 Now finds the Truth of what the *Second* said :  
 "The Woman's Seed shall bruise the Serpent's Head."

90. *Fore-goodness.* Providence.

90, 91. *Not to Hell,*

*But to THIS EARTH.*

See *Introductory Note.*

96, 97. *And having found the FIRST  
 sad Sentence true,  
 Now finds the Truth of what  
 the SECOND said.*

And having experienced the subjection of  
 humanity to the powers of evil announced  
 in the sentence "it shall bruise thy head,"  
 now apprehends the truth of the prediction  
 of the greater victory implied in the sub-  
 sequent sentence, "and thou shalt bruise  
 his heel." (*Genesis*, iii. 15.)

Again ;—to urge the Instance that I gave,  
Attend we this good Bishop to his Grave ! 100  
The Priest comes forth to meet the sable Hearse,  
And then repeats the well-appointed Verse,  
—Verse, one would think, that might decide the Strife—  
“I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE.”

What “Life” is That Which JESUS is, and gives,  
In and by Which the true Believer lives?  
That of *this World*? Then, were it most absurd  
To a dead Bishop to apply the Word!  
'Tis that which human Nature had before ;  
Which, being *Christ's*, Christ *only* can restore. 110  
What *Meaning* is there touching the Deceas'd,  
Now from the *Burden of the Flesh* releas'd,  
But that his Soul is going to be clad  
With *heav'nly* Flesh and Blood, which *Adam* had,  
Before he enter'd into *that* which *Paul*  
“Body of Death” might very justly call?  
A Flesh and Blood, that, as he hints elsewhere,  
“Not born from Heav'n can never enter there ;”—  
Mass of this World, whose Kingdom *Christ* disclaim'd,  
The Life whereof is but a Life so-nam'd,— 120  
A Life of *Animal* and *Insect* Breath,  
That in a *Man* is rightly styl'd a *Death*.

104. “I AM THE RESURRECTION AND THE LIFE.” *St. John*, xi. 25—the passage from *St. John*, xi. 25, 26 is the beginning of the first of the three which the *Order for the Burial of the Dead* directs to be said or sung by the Priest and Clerks meeting the corpse at the entrance of the churchyard.

115, 116. THAT *which* PAUL  
“Body of Death” might very justly call.  
“Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?” (*Romans*, vii. 24.)

117. *As he hints elsewhere*. See *1st Corinthians*, xv. 47, 50: “The first man is of the earth, earthy . . . Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God.”

119. *Mass of this World, whose Kingdom CHRIST disclaim'd*. Or, in Law's phraseology, “such Materiality as this outward World is made of.” See *St. John*, xviii. 36: “Jesus answered, My kingdom is not of this world.”

Thus, Sir, throughout the *Burial Office* run,  
 You'll find that it proceeds as it begun.  
 Read any Office,—*Baptism*, if you will,—  
 From first to last, you'll find the Reason still  
 Why *any* or why *all of them* are read,—  
 Reason of all that's either sung, or said,—  
 Is by this one great solemn Truth explain'd  
 Of "*Life in Adam lost, in CHRIST regain'd*;"— 130  
 Lost at the *Fall*,—not at the End of Years  
 That *Adam* labour'd in this Vale of Tears,  
 When Death thro' Christ was *happy*, 'tis presum'd,  
 And vanquish'd *that* to which he first was doom'd ;—

Doom'd,—not by any *Act of Wrath* in God,—  
 A Point wherein the Bishop seems to nod.  
 No Death of *pure*, of *tainted* Life no Pain  
 Did His Severe Inflicting Will ordain.  
 He is all Glory, Goodness, Light, and Love,—  
 LIFE that from *Him* no Creature can remove ; 140  
 But from *itself* it may, as *Adam* did,  
 If it will choose what Light and Love forbid.  
 Truly fore-warn'd of what would *truly* be,  
 His Life was poison'd by the *mortal* Tree :  
 He *ate*—he *fell*—he *died* :—'tis all the same,—  
 One Loss of Life under a triple Name.

125. BAPTISM, *if you will*. In the *Ministration for the Public Baptism of Infants*, however, the figures are in some measure mixed : "And humbly we beseech thee to grant, that he" [the child just baptised] "being dead unto sin, and living unto righteousness, and being buried with Christ in his death, may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin ; and that, as he is made partaker of the death of thy Son, he may also be partaker of his resurrection, &c."

131. *At the End of Years*. At the period of his natural death.

136. *A Point wherein the Bishop seems to nod*. I have not noticed the actual expression "act of wrath" in *Sherlock's Appendix* ; but it may be deduced from such phrases as "pronouncing sentence" and "condemning," which are employed there.

138. *Inflicting*. Punishing.

144. *The MORTAL Tree*. The fatal tree.

No Test was made by *positive Command*,  
 Merely to try if he would fall or stand,  
 Like *that*, the serpentine Satanic Snare,  
 Of which the Man was bidden to beware. 150  
 "Eat not thereof, or thou wilt surely die,"  
 Was spoken to *prevent*, and not to *try* ;  
 To guard the Man against his subtle Foe,  
 Who sought to teach him *what 'twas Death to know* ;—

Death to his pristine *Spirit-life* Divine,  
 And *Separation* from its Sacred *Shrine*,—  
 The Pure, Unmix'd, Incorruptible Throne,  
 Wherein God's Image first Embodied shone.  
 Tho' form'd to rule the new-created Scene,  
 Built from the *Chaos* of a former Reign, 160  
 To bring the Wonders of this World to View,  
 And ancient Glories to an Orb renew,  
 He also had, as being to command,  
 See and be seen in this new-formèd Land,—

152. *Was spoken to PREVENT, and not to TRY.* "It is plain also that the Command of GOD, not to lust after and eat of the forbidden Tree, was not an *arbitrary* Command of GOD, given at Pleasure, or as a mere Trial of Man's Obedience ; but was a most kind and loving *Information* given by the GOD of Love to his new-born Offspring, concerning the State he was in with Regard to the outward World ; Warning him to withdraw all Desire of entering into a *Sensibility* of its Good and Evil, &c. (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 13.)

159. *Tho' form'd to rule.* See *Genesis*, i. 28: "And have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

160. *Built from the CHAOS of a former*

*Reign.* In Law's remarkable "paraphrase" of God's speech to Adam on placing him in Paradise, the Almighty thus describes the Revolt of the Angels: "In that Moment, the beautiful Materiality of their Kingdom, their *glassy Sea* in which they dwelt, was by the wrathful rebellious Workings of these apostate Spirits broke all into Pieces, and became a black Lake, a horrible Chaos of Fire and Wrath, Thickness and Darkness, a Height and Depth of the confused, divided, fighting Properties of Nature. My creating *Fiat* stopped the Workings of these rebellious Spirits, by dividing the Ruins of their wasted Kingdom, into an Earth, a Sun, Stars, and separated Elements." (*Id.*, 16-17.)

163. *As being to command.* As having to command.

This intermediate temporary Life,  
*Where only* Good and Evil are at Strife,—  
*Outward*, corporeal Form, whereby he saw  
 And heard and spoke and gave to all Things Law,  
 They none to him. His far superior Mind  
 Was, as he pleas'd, united or disjoin'd,— 170  
 So far united that all *Good* was gain'd ;  
 So far disjoin'd that *Evil* was restrain'd.  
 It could not reach him, for before his Fall  
 Nothing could *hurt* this human Lord of All,—  
 No more than *Satan* or the Serpent could,  
 If in his First Creation he had stood.

Such was his blest Estate, wherein is found  
 Of *Adam's* happy Ignorance the Ground.  
 His *outward* Body and each *outward* Thing,  
 From whence alone both Good and Ill could spring, 180  
 Could not affect, while he was free from Sin,  
 The Life of the celestial Man *within*.  
 Glorious Condition ! Which, howe'er, implied,  
 That Man, at first plac'd in it, must be tried  
 Not from God's Will or arbitrary Voice ;—  
 His Trial follow'd from his *Pow'r of Choice*.  
 GOD will'd him That, *himself* was to *re-will*,

170. *United or disjoin'd.* United with, or disjoined from, his outward body, taken from the newly created Earth.

176. *If in his First Creation he had stood.* If he had remained true to the condition in which he was first created.

184. *Man, at first plac'd in it, must be tried.* "And this was Man's first and great Trial ; a Trial not imposed upon him by the mere Will of GOD, or by Way of Experiment ; but a Trial necessarily implied in the Nature of his State : He was created an Angel, both as to Body

and Spirit ; and this Angel stood in an outward Body, of the Nature of the outward World ; and therefore, by the Nature of his State, he had his Trial, or *Power* of choosing, whether he would live as an Angel, using only his outward Body as a means of opening the Wonders of the outward World to the Glory of his Creator ; or whether he would turn his Desire to the opening of the bestial Life of the outward World in himself, for the Sake of knowing the Good and Evil that were in it," (*Spirit of Prayer*, l. 8.)

And the divine Intentions to fulfil,—  
To use his outward Body as a Means  
Whereby to raise in Time and Place the Scenes 190  
That should restore the *once* angelic Orb,  
And all its Evil introduc'd absorb ;—

Evil, that prior to the Fall of Man  
From him, whose *Name in Heav'n* is lost, began.  
*Moses* has plainly *hinted* at the Fiend,  
Whose Malice in a borrow'd Shape was screen'd ;  
Who, under Reason's plausible Disguise,  
Taught our First Parents to be worldly-wise.  
Succeeding Lights have risen up to show  
Of God and Man more *openly* the Foe. 200

He, *once* a thron'd *Archangel*, had the Sway  
Far as this Orb of our created Day ;  
Where, then, no Sun was wanted to give Light,  
No Moon to cheer yet undiscover'd Night.  
Immensely luminous his total Sphere,  
All Glory, Beauty, Brightness, ev'rywhere,—

194. *From him, whose NAME IN HEAV'N*  
*is lost.* See *Paradise Lost*, v. 658-9 :

"Satan ; so call him now ; his former name  
Is heard no more in heaven."

195, 196. *MOSES has plainly HINTED*  
*at the Fiend,*

*Whose Malice in a borrow'd*  
*Shape was screen'd.*

Sherlock, in the *Appendix*, discusses the  
question whether the Serpent of *Genesis*,  
iii. was a real serpent under the manage-  
ment of the Evil Being, or the Evil Being  
himself. His own opinion is in favour of  
the former of these alternative conclusions ;

but he well observes that "both of them  
have some support from the text, and both  
have difficulties in the text, which lie in  
their way," and furthermore that "neither  
the substance of history nor any one con-  
clusion that can be drawn from it, is in the  
least affected by this difference in opinion  
as to this circumstance." (Sherlock's  
*Works*, iv. 193.) Waterland's view,  
urged by him against Tindal's *Christianity*  
*as old as the Creation*, and bitterly ridi-  
culed by Middleton in his *Letter to Water-*  
*land* (*Works*, vol. iii.), was the same as  
Sherlock's.



*Ocean of Bliss, a limpid crystal Sea,*  
 Whose Height and Depth its Angels might survey,  
 Call forth its Wonders, and enjoy the Trance  
 Of Joys perpetual thro' its whole Expanse. 210  
 Ravishing Forms, arising without End,  
 Would in Obedience to their Wills ascend,  
 Change, and unfold fresh Glories to their View,  
 And tune the *Hallelujah* Song anew.

If, when we cast a thoughtful, thankful Eye  
 Towards the Beauties of an Ev'ning Sky,  
 Calm we admire thro' the ethereal Field  
 The various Scenes that even *Clouds* can yield,—  
 What huge Delight must *Nature's Fund* afford,  
 Where all the rich *Realities* are stor'd 220  
 Which God produces from its vast Abyss  
 To His own Glory and His Creatures' Bliss!

His Glory, first, *all Nature* must display ;  
 Else how to Bliss could Creatures know the Way ?  
 Order thro' all Eternity requires  
 That to His Will they subject their Desires ;  
 That, with all Meekness, the created Mind  
 Be to the Fountain of its Life resign'd ;  
 Think, speak, and act, in all things for His Sake.  
 This is the *true Perfection* of its Make. 230

Both Men and Angels must have *Wills* their own,  
 Or God and Nature were to them unknown.  
 'Tis their *Capacity* of Life and Joy  
 Which none but *they* can ruin or destroy.  
 God in Himself was, is and will be Good,

207. OCEAN OF BLISS, a LIMPID CRYSTAL SEA. "Perpetual Scenes of Light, and Glory, and Beauty, were rising and changing through all the Height and Depth of their *glassy Sea* merely at their Will and Pleasure." (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 15). Cf. *Revelation*, iv. 6.  
 230. THE TRUE PERFECTION of its Make. The true consummation of the purpose for which it was created.

And all around pour forth th' enriching Flood.  
 From Him—'tis *Nature's* and *Religion's* Creed,—  
 Nothing *but* Good can possibly proceed.  
 That *Creature* only, whose recipient Will  
 Shuts itself up within *itself*, is ill : 240  
 Good cannot dwell in such an harden'd Clay,  
 But stagnates and evaporates away.

Thus, when the Regent of th' angelic Host  
 That *fell*, began within himself to boast ;  
 Began, endow'd with his *Creator's* Pow'rs  
 That nothing could resist, to call them *Ours* ;  
 To spread thro' his wide Ranks the *impious Term*,  
 And they, their Leader's Doctrine to confirm,—  
 Then *Self*, then *Evil*, then apostate *War*  
 Rag'd thro' *their Hierarchy* wide and far ; 250  
 Kindled to burn what they esteem'd a Rod,  
 The Meekness and Subjection to a God.  
 Resolv'd to pay no hymning Homage more,  
 Nor in an Orbit of *their own* adore,  
 All Right of Heav'n's Eternal King abjur'd,  
 They thought *One Region* to themselves secur'd,—

243 *seqq.* Thus, when the Regent of th' angelic Host, &c. "But finding what Wonders of Light and Glory they could perpetually bring forth; how all the Powers of Eternity, treasured up in their glassy Sea, unfolded themselves, and broke forth in ravishing Forms of Wonder and Delight, merely in Obedience to their Call: they began to admire and even adore themselves, and to fancy that there was some Infinity of Power hidden in themselves, which they supposed was kept under, and suppressed, by that Meekness and Subjection to GOD, under which they acted. No sooner did their eternal potent Desires fly in this Direction of a Revolt from GOD, but in the Swiftness of a Thought Heaven was lost," &c. (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 15.)

255. All Right of Heav'n's Eternal King abjur'd. Having been abjured by them.

256, 257. They thought ONE REGION to themselves secur'd,—  
 One out of THREE.

The Region meant is the world, which Law supposes the Angels to have first inhabited, and by their revolt to have reduced to chaos. I cannot, however, venture to explain the refinement "one out of Three," to which I find nothing corresponding in *The Spirit of Prayer*.

One out of *Three*, where Majesty Divine  
 Shone in Its Glorious *Outbirth Unitrine* ;  
 Shone, and will shine eternally, altho'  
 Angels or Men the Shining Bliss forego.

260

Straight, with this proud Imagination fir'd,  
 To *Self-Dominion* strongly they aspir'd ;  
 Bent all their Wills, *irrevocably* bent,  
 To bring about their devilish Intent.  
 How ought *we Mortals* to beware of *Pride*,  
 That such great Angels could so far misguide !  
 No sooner was this horrible Attempt  
 From all Obedience to remain exempt  
 Put forth to Act, but instantly thereon  
 Heav'n in the Swiftness of a Thought was gone. 270  
 From *Love's beatifying* Pow'r estrang'd,  
 They found their Life, their Bliss, their Glory chang'd ;  
 That State wherein they were *resolv'd* to dwell,  
 Sprung from *their Lusting* and became their Hell.

Thinking to rise above the GOD of ALL  
 The Wretches fell with an eternal Fall  
 In Depths of Slavery without a Shelf ;—

258. *Out-birth*. Product. The term is used by Law in his *Appeal to all that Doubt*, p. 115 (*Works*, vol. vi.) : "Therefore all temporary Nature is a Product, Offspring, or Out-birth of Eternal Nature." &c.

265, 266. *How ought we Mortals to beware of Pride*,  
*That such great Angels could so far misguide*.

Cf. POPE, *Essay on Man*, l. 123-8 :

"In Pride, in reas'ning Pride, our error lies ;

All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.

Pride still is aiming at the blest abodes ;  
 Men would be Angels, Angels would be Gods.

Aspiring to be Gods, if Angels fell.  
 Aspiring to be Angels, Men rebel."

Byrom's lines, however, are a rather prosaic reflexion in the midst of a passage which otherwise not unworthily reproduces a fine imaginative conception.

274. *And became their Hell*. Cf. note to l. 27, *ante*.

There is no Stop in self-tormenting *Self*.  
 Just as a Wheel, that's running down a Hill  
 Which has no Bottom, must keep running still, 280  
 So down their own Proclivity to wrong,  
 Urg'd by impetuous Pride, they whirl along ;  
 Their own dark, fiery working Spirits tend  
 Further from God and further to descend.

He made no *Hell* to place His Angels in ;  
*They* stirr'd the Fire that burnt them by their Sin,  
 The Bounds of Nature and of Order broke,  
 And all the Wrath that follow'd them awoke.  
*Their own* disorder'd Raging was their Pain ;  
*Their own* unbending, harden'd *Strength* their Chain ; 290  
 Renouncing God with their eternal Might,  
*They* sunk their Legions into endless Night.

Meanwhile, the glorious Kingdom where they dwelt  
 Th' Effect of their rebellious Workings felt ;  
 Its clear *Materiality* and pure  
 Could not the Force of raging Fiends endure ;  
 Its *Elements*, all Heav'nly in their Kind,  
 In *one* harmonious System when combin'd,  
 Were now disclos'd, divided and opaque ;  
 Their *glassy Sea* became a *stormy Lake* ; 300

278 *seqq.* *There is no Stop in self-tormenting SELF*, &c. "There was no End of their eternal Sinking into new Depths of Slavery, under their own self-tormenting Natures. As a Wheel going down a Mountain, that has no Bottom, must continually keep on its Turning, so are they whirled down by the Impetuosities of their own wrong-turned Wills, in a continual Descent from the Fountain of all Glory, into the bottomless Depths of their own dark, fiery, working Powers." (*Spirit of Prayer*, l. 16.)

285 *seqq.* *He made no HELL to place His Angels in*, &c. Cf. note to l. 27, *ante*. The editor of B, who does not like "improving" the Bible, enquires : "How does this agree with : 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels.'" (*St. Matt.*, xxv. 41.)

The Height and Depth of their angelic World  
 Was nought but Ruins upon Ruins hurl'd.  
*Chaos* arose, and with its gloomy Sweep  
 Of *dark'ning* Horrors overspread the Deep ;  
 All was Confusion, Order all defac'd,  
*Tohu* and *Bohu*, the *deform'd Waste*.

Till the Almighty's Gracious *Fiat* came  
 And stopp'd the Spreading of the hellish Flame ;  
 Put to each fighting Principle the Bar,  
 And calm'd by just Degrees th' intestine War. 310  
*Light* at His Word th' abating Tempest cheer'd ;  
 Earth, Sea and Land, Sun, Moon and Stars appear'd ;  
 Creatures of ev'ry Kind and Food for each,  
 And various Beauties clos'd the various Breach.  
 Nature's *Six Properties* had each their Day,  
 Lost Heav'n, as far as might be, to display,

306. *Tohu* and *Bohu*, the *deform'd Waste*. *Tohu vabohu*=without form and void. See *Genesis*, i. 2 ; cf. *Jeremiah*, iv. 23.

307 *seqq.* Till the Almighty's Gracious *FIAT* came, &c. "My creating *Fiat* stopped the Workings of these rebellious Spirits, by dividing the Ruins of their wasted Kingdom into an Earth, a Sun, Stars, and separated Elements . . . . When my creating *Fiat* spoke to these new-ranged Stars and Elements, and bid Life awake in them all according to its Kind, they all obeyed my Word, and every Property of Nature strove to bring forth, after the *Kind* and *Manner* as it had done in the Region of Eternity." (*Spirit of Prayer*, i. 16-17, 20.)

315. Nature's SIX PROPERTIES. See as to these *The Spirit of Prayer*, Part ii. 217 *seqq.* The first three properties of Nature a *Shutting-up*, a *Running-out* and

a *Whirling*, became in the first three days of the Creation, the ground of an *earthly*, a *watery*, and an *airy* Materiality. The fourth, the eternal Fire, was kindled out of the fire and light hid in this materiality, in the shape of the Sun. The fifth, the Property of Light and Love, falls a little out of order, and of the sixth and the seventh, here called "the body of them all," we learn nothing in the above passage, which is doubtless based on a vision of Jacob Böhme. From *The Spirit of Love*, Part i. pp. 39 *seqq.* (*Works*, vol. viii.), it appears that the Sixth Property is called Sound or Understanding, and that the State of Peace or Joy in one another introduced into the relations between the first three by the succeeding three Properties is called the seventh Property or State of Nature, corresponding to "the *paradisi-cal* Sabbath of the *seventh Day*."

And in the *Sev'nth*, or *Body* of them all,  
To rest from, what they yet must prove, a *Fall*.

For had not this disorder'd Chaos been,  
Had not these Angels caus'd it by their Sin,— 320  
Nor had compacted Earth, nor Rock, nor Stone,  
Nor *gross Materiality* been known.  
All that in Fire or Water, Earth or Air,  
May now their *noxious* Qualities declare,  
Is as unknown in Heav'n as Sin or Crime,  
And only lasts for purifying Time,—  
Till the *Great End*, for which we all came here,  
Till God's *Restoring Goodness*, shall appear.  
Then, as the rebel Creatures' false Desire  
Awak'd in Nature the *chaotic Fire*, 330  
So, when *Redeeming Love* has found a Race  
Of Creatures worthy of the Heav'nly Place,  
Then shall *another* Fire enkindled rise,  
And purge from Ill these *temporary* Skies,—  
Purge from the World its Deadness and its Dross,  
And of *lost* Heav'n recover *all the Loss*.

Why look we, then, with such a longing Eye  
On what this World can *give us* or *deny*,—

327 *seqq.* Till the GREAT END, &c. *glassy Sea* of everlasting Light and Glory,  
"Till the great Designs are finished, for in which Thou and thy Offspring shall  
which Thou art brought forth in Paradise. sing Hallelujahs to all Eternity." (*Spirit*  
And then, as a Fire awakened by the of Prayer, i. 17.)  
Rebel Creature, began all the Disorders 337 *seqq.* Why look we, then, with such  
of Nature, and turned that glassy Sea into a longing Eye, &c. "Look not therefore,  
a Chaos, so a *last Fire*, kindled at my thou Child of Paradise, thou Son of Eter-  
Word, shall thoroughly purge the Floor nity, look not with a longing Eye after  
of this World. In those purifying Flames anything in this outward World. There  
the Sun, the Stars, the Air, the Earth and are the Remains of the fallen Angels in it;  
Water, shall part with all their Dross, Thou hast nothing to do in it, but as a  
Deadness and Division, and all become Ruler over it." (*Spirit of Prayer*, i.  
again that first heavenly Materiality, a 17-18.)

Of Man and Angel fall'n the sad Remains ?  
 It *has* its *Pleasures*, but it *has* its *Pains*. 340  
 It has what speaks it, would we but attend,  
 Not our design'd Felicity,—an *End*.  
 Sons of Eternity, tho' born on Earth,  
 There is within us a *Celestial Birth*,—  
 A Life that waits the *Efforts of our Mind*,  
 To raise itself within this *outward Rind*.  
 This *Husk of ours*, this stately *stalking Clod*,  
 Is not the Body that we have from *God*.  
 Of Good and Evil 'tis the *mortal Crust* ;  
 Fruit of *Adamical* and *Eval* Lust ; 350  
 By which the Man, when heav'nly Life was ceas'd,  
 Became an helpless, naked, biped Beast,  
 Forc'd on a *curs'd Earth* to sweat and toil,  
 To *Brute* a native, *him* a foreign Soil ;  
 And, after all his Years employ'd to know  
 The Satisfaction of a Life so low,—  
 Nine-hundred, or Nine-hundred-thousand,—past,  
*Another Death* to come and *Hell* at last,—  
 But for that new, mysterious *Birth of Life*,  
 That *promis'd Seed* to *Adam* and his *Wife*, 360

339. Angel laps'd.—B.

341, 342. *What speaks it, would we but attend.* *born again from above, and made again a Partaker of the Divine Nature . . . For*

*Not our design'd Felicity.*

What proves it, would we but attend, not to be the condition of happiness prepared for us.

this new Birth is not a *Part*, but the *Whole* of our Salvation. Everything in Religion, from the Beginning to the End of Time, is only for the Sake of it." (*Ib.*, vii. 42, 44.)

357. *Nine hundred.* "And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years." (*Genesis*, v. 5.)

*Ib. But for.* Were it not for. There is no real obscurity in the construction of this period ; but its length is appalling.

359 *sqq.* *But for that new, mysterious BIRTH OF LIFE.* "Nothing less than this mysterious Incarnation (which astonishes Angels) could open a *Way* or begin a *Possibility* for fallen Man to be

360. *That PROMIS'D SEED to ADAM.* That Seed promised to Adam. Byrom is given to such inversions. See *General Introduction*, p. xxx.—Cf. *Genesis*, iii. 15.

*An Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple.* 161

That *quick'ning Spirit* to a poor *dead Soul*,—  
 Not *Part* of Scripture Doctrine, but *the Whole* ;  
 Which Writers, *figuring* away, have left  
 A mere dead Letter, of all Sense bereft,—  
 But for that *only* Help of Man forlorn,  
 The *Incarnation* of the VIRGIN-BORN.

This *Serpent-Bruiser*, Son of GOD and *Man*,  
 Who from the first His saving Work began,  
 Revers'd, in full Maturity of Time,  
 In His Own SACRED PERSON, *Adam's* Crime ; 370  
 Brought human Nature from its deadly Fall,  
 And made Salvation possible for *All*.

Without acknowledging that *Adam died*,  
 Scripture throughout is, in Effect, denied ;  
 All the whole Process of *Redeeming Love*,  
 Of *Life*, of *Light* and *Spirit from above*,  
 Loses by Learning's *piteous* Pretence  
 Of *Modes* and *Metaphors* its real Sense ;  
 All the glad Tidings in the Gospel found  
 Are sunk in empty and unmeaning Sound. 380

If by the First Man's Sin we understand  
 Only some Breach of absolute Command  
 Half-punish'd, half-remitted by a Grace  
 Like that which takes in human Acts a Place,—  
 The more we write, the more we still expose  
 The Christian Doctrine to its reas'ning Foes.  
 But, once convinc'd that *Adam* by his Crime  
 Fell from *eternal Life* to that of *Time* ;

363. FIGURING away. Posing, attitudinising. *Appeal to all that Doubt*, p. 97 (*Works*, vol. vi.)

367. *This SERPENT-BRUISER*. Cf. 386. *Reas'ning*. Rationalistic.



Stood on the Brink of *Death eternal* too,  
 Unless created unto Life *anew*,— 390  
 Then, ev'ry Reason teaches us to see  
 How all the Truths of Sacred Writ agree ;  
 How *Life restor'd* arises from the *Grave* ;  
 How Man *could* perish, and how CHRIST *could* save.

Man perish'd by the deadly Food he took,  
 And needs must *lose* the Life that he *forsook*,  
 Not unadvis'd. The Moment he inclin'd  
 To this inferior Life his nobler Mind,  
 God kindly warn'd him to continue fed 400  
 With *Food of Paradise*, with Angels' Bread ;  
 To shun the *Tree*, the *Knowledge*, whose sad Leav'n  
 Would quench in him the Light and Life of Heav'n ;  
 Strip him of that angelical Array  
 Which thro' his *outward Body* spread the Day ;  
 Kept it from ev'ry Curse of Sin and Shame,  
 From all those Evils that had yet no Name,—  
 That prov'd—alas !—when he would not refrain,  
 The Loss of *Adam's proper Life* too plain.  
 Who can suppose that God would e'er forbid  
 To eat what would not *hurt him* if he *did* ; 410  
 Fright His lov'd Creature by a false Alarm ;  
 Or make what *in itself* was harmless, *Harm* ?

O how much better he from whom I draw,  
 Tho' deep, yet clear, the System,—Master LAW !

412 Tho' deep, yet clear his system.—B.

389, 390. *Stood on the Brink of DEATH* natural immortality of the soul and con-  
*ETERNAL too,* fines the gift of eternal life to those who de-  
*Unless created into Life ANEW.* rive it from Christ through the ordinances  
 This seems to come near to the theory de- He appointed." (See Plumptre's *Life of*  
 veloped in Henry Dodwell's book *On the Ken*, ii. 76, *note*, as to the previous history  
*Immortality of the Soul*, which "denies the of this theory, and cf. *ib.*, ii. 128, *note*.)

"Master" I call him ; not that I incline  
 To pin my Faith on any One Divine ;  
 But, Man or Woman, whosoe'er it be,  
 That speaks true Doctrine, is a *Pope* to me.  
 Where Truth alone is *Interest* and *Aim*,  
 Who would regard a *Person* or a *Name* ; 420  
 Or, in the Search of it *impartial*, scoff  
 Or scorn the meanest Instrument thereof ?

415. *Master, I call him.* So, in Byrom's letter to Law of October 10th, 1751, he addresses him as "*Mon cher Maître*," and in another, of October 21st of the same year, as "Dear Master." (*Remains*, ii. 517, 520.) Possibly this style of address had suggested itself to Byrom from that of "Dear Grand-Master" adopted towards him by Ralph Leycester and other intimate friends belonging to his Shorthand Society. Law appears to have taken no exception to it, although according to his biographer (Canon Overton, *William Law*, p. 421) he loved to quote the text, "Call no man Rabbi."

417, 418. *But Man or Woman, whosoe'er it be,*

*That speaks true Doctrine, is  
 a POPE to me.*

It was in reference to this passage (eminently characteristic of Byrom's mind) that Warburton, in his letter to Byrom of April 3rd, 1752, wrote: "I suppose that I might be allowed to call Mr. Law your *apostle*, because I think you say (on account of his preaching true doctrine to you) he shall be your *Pope*, and the *Pope*, you know, pretends to much higher prerogatives than the *Apostles* ever claimed." (*Remains*, ii. 533.) Byrom replies (*ib.*, 536-7): "You are arch . . . He or she—for truth is neither male nor female—that speaks true Doctrine, is a *Pope* to me. Now if there be a *Pope* that claims as you

affirm, it is plain from the untruth of such doctrine that he can be no *Pope* of mine, his vain and known pretences excluding him from that authority which truth alone can give him, and which it will give to you, as well as to Mr. Law, whenever you aspire to this kind of popedom with that success which I wish you heartily to obtain." P. Poiret, the editor of *Mme. Guyon's* works, who attributed his own conversion to his reading of certain of the writings of Antoinette Bourignon (viz. her *Light Springing up in Darkness*, and her *Funeral of false Divinity*) says in one of his books, concerning a person who had censured his life and writings: "He dislikes this in me that I express an esteem for ANTONIA BOURIGNON; but I do not adhere to her so much as he does to Calvin; on the other hand, I have had regard to nothing else but the truth and wisdom of GOD, giving myself no concern what kind of instrument it has pleased GOD to make use of to discover it to me, whether man or woman, whether one eminent in literature or a mere idiot, whether Roman Catholic, Calvinist or Lutheran, whether Jew or Gentile. They are all agreeable to me, so far as they possess the truth, and no further." (See *Life of Peter Poiret in Select Lives of Foreigners eminent for their Piety* (by the Translator of the *Life of Lady Guion*), Bristol, 1773, p. 11.)

Pardon me, Sir, for having dar'd to dwell  
 Upon a Truth already told so well ;  
 Since diff'rent Ways of telling may excite  
 In diff'rent Minds Attention to what's right,  
 And Men (I measure by Myself) sometimes,  
 Averse to Reas'ning, may be taught by Rimes,—  
 If, where One fails, they will not take Offence,  
 Nor quarrel with the *Words*, but seek the *Sense*. 430

"Life," "Death," and such-like Words, in Scripture found,  
 Have certainly an higher, deeper Ground,  
 Than that of this poor perishable Ball,  
 Whereon Men doat as if it were their All,—  
 As if they were like *Warburtonian Jews*,  
 Or *Christians* nam'd, but still no *higher Views* ;  
 As if their Years had never taught them Sense  
 Beyond, "It is all one a Hundred hence !"

'Twas of such Worldlings that our Saviour said  
 To one of his Disciples, "Let the Dead 440

435. *As if they were like* WARBURTONIAN JEWS. In his letter to Byrom, dated December 12th, 1751, Warburton refers to this allusion and to the passage in *Enthusiasm*, ll. 139-140, where "Israel's Leader" is said to be represented by Warburton as having

"purposely conceal'd  
 Truths which his whole Economy reveal'd."  
 "The thing," he writes, "which seems to have given you most offence is my laying it down from a principle that the early Jews had little notion of, and were not at all influenced by, the doctrine of a future state ; and I appeal for the support of it to their history as we find it in the Bible." And he goes on to show that the error, if it was one, was not advanced in order to depreciate Revelation, but in order to

show the necessity of the Gospel. (*Remains*, ii. 523.) The demonstration, that "as Moses taught not the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, so neither had the ancient Jews any Knowledge of it," is contained in Sections v. and vi. of Book v. of *The Divine Legation*, while Book vi. contains an examination of all the texts in the Old and the New Testament which have been brought forward to prove the contrary of the above proposition.

436. *Or CHRISTIANS nam'd, but still no higher Views*. Or Christians in name, but still without higher beliefs. The construction is careless.

440, 441. "*Let the Dead Bury their Dead*," &c.

See *St. Matthew*, viii. 22 : "But Jesus

Bury their Dead,—but do thou follow Me!"  
It makes no more Distinction, Sir, you see,  
But that with Ref'rence to a Life *so brute*  
The *speaking Carcases* interr'd the *mute*.

*Life*, to conclude, was lost in *Adam's Fall*,  
Which CHRIST, our *Resurrection*, will recall ;  
And, as *Death* came into the World by *Sin*,  
Where *One* begun the *Other* must begin.  
Why will the learned Sages use their Art,  
From *Scripture Truth* so widely to depart ? 450  
But above all, a *Bishop*, grave and wise,  
Why will he shut against *plain Text* his Eyes,—  
Not see that Heav'ns Prediction never lied ;  
That *Adam* fell by eating, sinn'd, and died  
A *real Death*, as much as *Loss of Sight*  
Is Death to ev'ry Circumstance of *Light* ?  
Tho' a blind Man may feel his Way and grope,  
Or for *recover'd Eyes* be made to *hope*,  
We might as well set Glasses on his Nose,  
And Sight from common Helps of Sight suppose, 460  
As say, when *Adam's* Heav'nly Life was kill'd,  
That Sentence was not *instantly* fulfill'd !

Persuade your Mitred Friend, then, if you can,  
To *re-consider*, Sir, the *Fall of Man* ;  
To see and own the *Depth* of it : because.  
Till *that* is done, we may as well pick Straws,  
As talk of *what* and *who* the Serpent was  
That brought the Fall, *not understood*, to pass.

said unto him, Follow me, and let the dead bury their dead." Cf. *St. Luke*, ix. 59-60. account of the Fall, discussed in Sherlock's *Appendix*. See *Introduction*, ante. Byrom's *Library* (see *Catalogue*, p. 102) contains James Hampton's *Plain and easy account of the Fall, in which the Distinct Agency of an Evil Spirit is asserted* (1756).

446. *Our RESURRECTION*. Cf. note to l. 104, ante.

467. As talk of WHAT and WHO the Serpent was. "The main difficulty" in the

One Thing he *was*, Sir, be what else he will;—  
 A *Critic* that employ'd his fatal Skill 470  
 To cavil upon *Words*, and take away  
 The Sense of *that* which was as *plain as Day*.  
 And thus the World at present by his Wiles,  
 Tho' not in *outward Shape*, he still beguiles,  
 Seeking to turn, by Comments low and lax,  
 The Word of God into a Nose of Wax ;  
 To take away the *Marrow* and the *Pith*  
 Of all that Scripture can present us with.  
*May Heav'n deliver from his winding Tours*  
 The *Bishop*, and *us all* ! I am, Sir, 480  
 Yours.

476. *A Nose of Wax*. Nares, who cites by Roman Catholic writers to the Holy from Burton and others examples of the Scriptures, as liable to interpretation according to the purpose of the interpreter. use of this phrase, illustrates from Jewell's *Apologia Eccl. Angl.* the application of it 479. *Tours*. Turns.

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## A PRAYER,

FROM MR. LAW'S *SPIRIT OF PRAYER*.

[This is a paraphrase of the Prayer with which the *First Part* of Law's *Spirit of Prayer*, first published in 1749, concludes. I subjoin without commentary the text of the original (*Works*, vii. 102):

"Oh heavenly Father, infinite fathomless Depth of never ceasing Love, save me from myself, from the disorderly Workings of my fallen, long corrupted Nature, and let my Eyes see, my Heart and Spirit feel and find, thy Salvation in CHRIST JESUS.

"O God, who madest me for thyself, to shew forth thy Goodness in me, manifest, I humbly beseech Thee, the Life-giving Power of thy holy Nature within me ; help me to such a true and living Faith in Thee, such Strength of Hunger and Thirst after the Birth, Life and Spirit of thy Holy JESUS in my Soul, that all that is within me may be turned from every inward Thought or outward Work that is not Thee, thy Holy JESUS, and heavenly working in my Soul. Amen."]

O HEAV'NLY Father! Gracious God above!  
 Thou Boundless Depth of Never-ceasing Love!  
 Save me from *Self*, and cause me to depart  
 From sinful Works of a long-harden'd Heart;  
 From all my Great Corruptions set me free;  
 Give me an Ear to hear, an Eye to see,  
 An Heart and Spirit to believe, and find  
 Thy Love in CHRIST, the Saviour of Mankind!

Made for Thyself, O God, and to display  
 Thy Goodness in me, manifest; I pray, 10  
 By Grace adapted to each wanting Hour  
 Thy Holy Nature's Life-conferring Pow'r;  
 Give me the Faith, the Hunger and the Thirst  
 After the Life breath'd forth from Thee at first,—  
 Birth of Thy Holy JESUS in my Soul,  
 That I may turn thro' Life's succeeding Whole  
 From ev'ry outward Work or inward Thought  
 Which is not Thee, or in Thy Spirit wrought!

11. *To each wanting hour.* To the human Nature, and this is called *Regeneration*. See also the true Reason why only the *Son*, or *Eternal Word* of GOD, could be our Redeemer; it is because He alone, by whom all Things were at first made, could be able to bring to Life again that celestial Spirit and Body which had departed from *Adam*. (*The Spirit of Prayer*, p. 9.)

13 *seqq.* *Give me the Faith*, &c. "See here the Nature and Necessity of our Redemption; it is to redeem the first Angelic Nature that departed from *Adam*; it is to make that heavenly Spirit and Body which departed from *Adam* lost, to be alive again in all the

## ENTHUSIASM;

A POETICAL ESSAY. IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND IN TOWN.

Εἰ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι θεῶς ἔστιν ἡ θεῖα γένεσις, οὐ μὴ ποτέ τι γνολὴ τῶν θεοπαράδοτων, οὔτε μὲν ἐνεργήσειεν, ὁ μὴδὲ τὸ ὑπάρχειν ἐνθεῶς ἐχρηκάς.

—S. Dionys. Areop. *de Eccles. Hier.*, cap. 2.

Manchester, September 3rd, 1751.

DEAR FRIEND,

I have here sent you the Verses which you desired a Copy of. The Book that gave Occasion to them has treated the Subject whereon they are made in such a brief, sensible, and lively manner, as might well excite one to an Attempt of this Nature. Just and improving Sentiments deserve to be placed in any Light that may either engage the Attention of a Reader or assist his Memory, and Verse, as I have found by experience, does both; for which Reason, when I first met with an Account of *Enthusiasm* so quite satisfactory, I chose to give it the Dress wherein it now appears before you.

*Enthusiasm* is grown into a fashionable Term of Reproach, that usually comes uppermost, when anything of a deep and serious Nature is mentioned. We apply it through an indolent Custom to sober and considerate Assertors of important Truths, as readily as to wild and extravagant Contenders about them. This indiscriminate Use of the Word has evidently a bad Effect: it pushes the general Indifferency to Matters of the highest Concern into downright Aversion. The best Writers upon the best Subjects are unattended to, and the Benefit accruing from their Love and their Labours is not perceived by us; because we are hurried on by the idlest of all Prejudices to condemn them without a Reading, or to pronounce them to be unintelligible, upon such a slight one as can hardly be called an Endeavour to understand them. We have heard it said, and have seen it printed, that they are Enthusiasts; and, to avoid the Imputation of that Character, we run into it at second Hand and adopt the Rashness and Injustice of impetuous Originals: we take the stalest Exclamations for the freshest Proofs; and the affected Retailing of *Madness*, *Mysticism*, *Behmenism*, and the like decisive Outcries, contents us as if there were something of Sense, Wit or Demonstration in it.

When this low Kind of *Enthusiasm* is alert enough to gain its Point, the Writer of a good Book may possibly lose the Applause, which it is highly probable that he never sought for. But what does a Reader get the while by his tame Resignation of the Right of judging for himself to such incompetent Authority? Men of superior Fluency in expressing their own Conceptions are not always sedate enough to examine, or judicious enough to discover, the Principles which might undeceive them. The first Obstruction to their Hypothesis may pass with them for an immediate Confutation of any Book whatsoever; they may shew their Learning, their Zeal, or their Contempt, and speak of an *Enthusiasm* different from their own, as quickly as they please; but where the Question is momentous, and the Celebration of their Fame quite foreign to it, what should induce any one who is really desirous of Information, to remit the Freedom of Enquiry after it for their Dicacity?

How many pathetic Accounts of living Piety, how many excellent Treatises composed for the Advancement of it, are neglected or unknown, because we are so easily prepossessed by popular Hearsay and wretched Compilers! How many has the Sourness of Controversy, the Bitterness of Party, and the Rotation of Amusement, in a manner suppressed! The *Enthusiasm* which is hence enkindled reigns and rages unsuspected, while that of a juster Kind, the genuine Effect of a true Life and Spirit, arising from what is lovely, harmonious and substantial, is in danger of being

extinguished by it; and, whenever it is so, the Variety of Delusion with which a different Spirit may then possess its Votaries, will centre, properly speaking, in *Endemoniasm*.

In short, there is a right *Enthusiasm* as well as a wrong one, and a Man is free to admit which he pleases. But one he must have, as sure as he has a Head, as sure as he has a Heart that fondly pursues the Object of its Desire, whatever it be. If that be pointed right,—if it reach after that Godlike State and Condition to which all Mankind were originally created,—if it long to be freed from the Disorders of its present State, to be restored again to that enduring Rest, Light and Liberty, which alone can accomplish and beautify it: how can it be too constant or too vigorous?

If the Desire be otherwise inclined, how little does it signify to the main Purpose what Ingenuity, Parts, or Learning, what natural, or what acquired Talents, Men may be possess'd of? So long as they have only Light enough to hate Light, they may, upon the first Glimpse of it, retire into their Earthliness, and push out their Works as thick as Mole-hills. But, in Reality, a single Page proceeding from a right Spirit, whose *Enthusiasm* they all despise, is worth a Library of such a Produce.

In such a spirit I take the *Appeal*, to which the following Lines are owing, to be written, and am persuaded, that if any sober-minded Deist who is prejudiced against Christianity, because he does not really know what it is,—that if any Christian so called, who has been led into Mistakes about it, because he does not really know what it is not,—in fine, that if any one whose Heart is so far converted as to desire Conversion, should be disposed to read it through, he would find his Account in it,—he would be struck with,—he would be edified by it.

There is, apparently, something so solid and so animated thro' the Whole of it; such an impartial Regard to Truth, wherever it may be found, and such happy Illustration of it, where it really has been found: that I had some Thoughts of translating it for the Use of Foreigners, believing that such a Service would be acceptable to the more searching and unbiass'd Dispositions amongst them, and also help to fix many awakening and comfortable Truths upon my own Mind; which is the Interest that I would propose to obtain by it. If I shall find myself capable of executing this Design with Justice to the Original, you shall hear further from me. In the meantime I have transcribed for you these Verses upon the incidental Subject of *Enthusiasm*, as they were first composed for private Recollection; and, as I can rely upon your Judgment concerning them better than I can upon my own, they are wholly submitted to your Correction and Disposal. I am,

Yours, &c.

J. B.

[The above letter was prefixed by Byrom to the first edition of *Enthusiasm*. A copy of this edition, bound up with one of the first edition of *The Epistle to a Templar*, with which it is uniform, and which belonged to Mr. Thomas Aynsough, is in my possession. It is dated 1752, and contains the following "advertisement": "The Editor of the following Verses believes no more need be said in Favour of them, than

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that they are by the same Hand as wrote the *Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple* in 1749."

*Enthusiasm* was, however, at least in part, written some years earlier. In the last days of May, 1743, Byrom paid a visit to Law at King's Cliffe, and he notes in his Shorthand Journal: "He" (Law) "talked of the verses about *The Pond*" (see *ante*, vol. i. pp. 196 *seqq.*), "and of printing them with the other; but I said those about *Enthusiasm* would do better by themselves I thought, that I was only afraid of mistaking his sense; but he said I had only added flame to the fire, that the verses were very good ones, and so I promised to send them to him." (*Remains*, ii. 366.)

As will be seen from my notes, which it would have proved difficult to curtail without obscuring the character of Byrom's paraphrase, he follows his original with remarkable fidelity. This original is not, as stated in the note to Byrom's introductory letter in A, Law's *Appeal to All that Doubt*, but rather the treatise published in conjunction with the *Appeal* under the title of *Some Animadversions upon Dr. Trapp's Reply*. The distinction is by no means one without a difference, inasmuch as the *Appeal* is a powerful summary of Law's conception of Christian dogma, while the *Animadversions* are an effective but (all allowances being made) essentially rhetorical retort upon a particular adversary. Of the controversy in question a sufficient account will be found in Canon Overton's biography of Law, ch. xvi. Dr. Trapp's *Discourse on the Nature, Folly, Sin and Danger of being Righteous Overmuch, &c.* (1739), which appears to have been an attack upon the tendency to identify the religious character with its excrescences; but the author took care to guard his argument against a very obvious misinterpretation of its purpose. The "righteous overmuch," he declared, were at least on the way "tending to that baneful plague ENTHUSIASM! . . . I do not say that all righteous overmuch are enthusiasts; but I do say that in all ages enthusiasts have been righteous overmuch." Very naturally, Law was induced to make so typical an example of a tendency of thought directly antagonistic to that cherished by himself the text for a commentary of his own. His *Earnest and Serious Answer to Dr. Trap's Discourse* (1740) exposes, with undeniable power and with commendable abstention from any reference to minor issues, the extreme futility—to put it summarily—of Dr. Trapp's *Discourse*. At the outset of Law's *Answer* he

had expressed his regret that he should have to devote his pen, even apparently, to any task besides that of setting forth "the infinite Love of God to Mankind in Christ Jesus, and in endeavouring to draw all Men to the Belief and Acknowledgment of it." Animated by this feeling, he produced, later in the year 1740, his *Appeal to All that Doubt or Disbelieve the Truths of the Gospel, whether they be Deists, Arians, Socinians, or nominal Christians, in which the true Grounds and Reasons of the whole Christian Faith and Life are plainly and fully demonstrated*. This, one of Law's most remarkable works, is at the same time one of the most compactly as well as comprehensively constructed among them; and, could it be averred that Law was the founder of a school, as he is the representative of a distinct system of religious teaching, it would occupy an eminent place in dogmatic as well as in homiletic literature. To this *Appeal* were added *Some Animadversions upon Dr. Trapp's Reply*; for the author of the *Discourse against being Righteous Overmuch*, who wielded an extremely active pen, had retorted upon Law without any sign of exhaustion on his own part, and with the advantage of a manifest lapse into eccentricity (in the matter of the explanation of the miracle of Cana) on the part of his assailant. Law's *Animadversions* are both excellent in tone and temper, and (after the matter of the miracle has been more or less skilfully, and the question of the celibacy of the clergy at all events quite straightforwardly, dealt with) extremely effective in treatment. In that portion of the tract which is paraphrased in the following verses, Law, as will be seen, contents himself with a line of defence so wide as to be virtually unassailable; and it is much to his advantage that his use of the word "enthusiasm" is more correct than that which had become popular. Enthusiasm *per se*, he argues, comes home to human nature; and the only question is as to the direction which it takes. Obviously, then, religious enthusiasm is of all enthusiasms the most desirable. Whether harm may conceivably be done to religion—or for that matter to art or letters—by exaggerating some of its principles and distorting some of its aspects, he does not think it worth his while to enquire. His reasoning, in short, amounts to an apology for bigotry because it is a force—as if it were the one possible force and, as such, indispensable.

Law's *Animadversions*, besides the taking character of their argument, possess the great advantage of being written in a style of which he

occasionally (in his popular *Serious Call* for instance) showed himself master, and which combines the most unmistakable earnestness of feeling with touches of genuine humour. To no man could these qualities, together with the fervent eloquence of the *Appeal*, have more directly come home than to Byrom, and to none could such a manifesto as Law's against the spirit of the age have seemed more opportune. The word "enthusiasm," indeed, had been in evil odour for many a long day. Up to about the middle of the seventeenth century it seems to have been employed in a more general sense, to judge from the title of the English Translation of Casaubon's treatise *Concerning ENTHUSIASME, as it is an Effect of Nature, but is mistaken by many for either Divine Inspiration, or Diabolical Possession*, published in English in 1656. The Religious Revolution led to its being decisively employed *in malam partem*. Dryden, in the *Dedication* of his *Plutarch's Lives* (*Works*, ed. Scott, revised by Saintsbury, xvii. 16), which appeared in 1683, writes: "Truth is never expected from authors, whose understandings are warped with enthusiasm." And we all remember in *Absalom and Achitophel* (Part i., ll. 529-530), the "dreaming saints" of "the true old enthusiastic breed." Writing about the same period, Byrom's favourite, Bishop Ken, in a curious passage of his *Hymnotheo*, (*Works*, u.s. iii. 279), where a series of "damn'd Ghosts" are enumerated with Dantesque precision, mentions by the side of Heretics and Atheists "The wild Enthusiast, the Religious cheat." Shaftesbury's *Letter on Enthusiasm* (which was published with his *Characteristics* in 1711, the year of his death) more temperately defines enthusiasm as a false belief in a supernatural influence, and contrasts it with inspiration, a real feeling of the divine presence. In *The Spectator* (No. 201, October 20th, 1711) enthusiasm is defined as "a kind of excess in devotion," while superstition is declared to be "the excess not only of devotion, but of religion in general . . . Enthusiasm has something in it of madness, superstition or folly. Most of the sects that fall short of the Church of England have in them strong tinctures of enthusiasm, as the Roman Catholic religion is one huge overgrown body of childish and idle superstitions." By the middle of the century, or thereabouts, the word was understood to signify mistaken or misdirected religious sentiment, including in its range deluded credulity and fanatical narrow-mindedness. "Enthusiasm" was now, in Mark Pattison's words, "the bugbear of the time," against

which the orthodox, adopting "*surtout point de zèle*" as their maxim of conduct, directed their sermons and pamphlets. "Every clergyman who wished to retain any influence over the minds of the parishioners was anxious to vindicate himself from all species of enthusiasm. When he had set himself right in this respect, he endeavoured to do the same good office for the Apostles." (*Essay on Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750*, Mark Pattison's *Essays*, ii. 107.) Among illustrations of this use may be noted Bishop Gibson of London's *Pastoral Letter against Lukewarmness and Enthusiasm* (1739), Bishop Hurd's *Assize Sermon on the Mischiefs of Enthusiasm and Bigotry* (1752) and (but this seems to be a distinct attack upon the Wesleyans, elaborating one of Warburton's points) Bishop Lavington's *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared* (1747). In his *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul* (also published in 1747), Lord Lyttelton enumerates, as "the Ingredients of which *Enthusiasm* is generally composed," "great Heat of Temper, Melancholy, Credulity and Vanity or Self-conceit." Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 175) contained Philalethes' *Christian Piety freed from the Delusions of modern Enthusiasts of all Denominations* (1755).

The title of the last-named tract illustrates the remark of Mr. Abbey (*The English Church and its Bishops*, ii. 79 and note) that with the exception of the mystic writers, those of every school of thought, including the Evangelicals and the majority of the Methodists themselves, agreed in speaking of "enthusiasm" as a thing to be dreaded and deprecated. "Enthusiasm," says John Wesley, "naturally leads to Antinomianism." "The spirit of enthusiasm," writes John Newton, "is a desire of Satan to discredit the work of gospel truth." And Wilberforce speaks of "doctrines of divine assistances disgraced by brain-sick enthusiasts." Earlier in the century Parson Adams had expressed himself with superior greater precision. Referring to Whitefield (see *Joseph Andrews*, chap. xvii.), "I once," he said, "was his well-wisher . . . But when he began to call nonsense and enthusiasm to his aid, and set up the detestable doctrine of faith against good works, I was his friend no longer." The misuse of the word, which (as has been seen) the Evangelical Revival had not attempted to suppress, seems to have died out slowly; in 1829, however, appeared the non-conformist Isaac Taylor the younger's *Natural History of*

*Enthusiasm*, and in 1840 in the *Edinburgh Review* (No. 143) Sir James Stephen's portraiture of the historian. We now employ the word "enthusiasm," if not always in a complimentary, at least rarely in an unkindly way; and the argument of Law and Byrom has in so far been vindicated by a change of feeling of which a change in the use of words is apt to be significant. In a letter from Oxford to his tutor Mr. Shirley, we find young Mr. Stafford Northcote (afterwards the first Earl of Iddesleigh) deploring in himself a want of what, says his biographer Mr. Andrew Lang, "our great-grandfathers called *enthusiasm*." His beliefs are thoroughly correct, but the state of his religious emotions does not satisfy him. "I almost fear that my heart has never been really touched, but that I have been rather hurried away by the feelings of the moment than by any serious change of heart, and that the world will yet be too powerful for me." (*Life, Letters and Diaries of the Earl of Iddesleigh*, 1890, i. 25.) I have quoted this sincere utterance of a noble spirit as well expressing the condition of mind which Law and Byrom had in view.

Although Law's *Appeal* and the *Animadversions upon Dr. Trapp's Reply* accompanying it had been published in 1740, it was only very gradually that they became more widely known. On October 3rd, 1751, Law, while urging Byrom to keep his "hand at the plough," i.e., to continue to assist him by popularising his writings, mentions a criticism of the *Appeal* by "a very learned and ingenious Deist," and adds: "By this I think you may see the *Appeal* is making its way into the public, and" (the 'Deist' had also expressed his admiration of Byrom's *Epistle to a Templar*) "that if you give your assistance, your labour is not likely to be lost. October term was the time set; if you will send it to me or to London I will take care to have it correctly printed." (*Remains*, ii. 516-7.) Byrom replies, October 10th: "I cannot doubt of the *Appeal's* making its way into the world . . . . Though you may justly blame my negligence, you never need doubt my inclination to assist in anything under proper direction that [you] will be so good as to suggest to me; and if copying ideas in verse may deserve that appellation, I could delight to execute any commission of that nature as faithfully as I could; but having failed in one promise, though undesignedly, I dare not make you any more but that of either bringing or sending you what I did not foresee I should keep so long

the first opportunity." (*Id.*, 519.) I am inclined to conjecture from this correspondence, that a paraphrase in verse of the *Appeal* itself had in the first instance been in question. However this may have been, Law seems to have received the *MS.* of *Enthusiasm* by October 17th, "in the parcel" mentioned in his letter to Byrom under that date. "I begin," he writes, "to have some jealousy about your verse. You indeed sing for me, but so sweetly, that you may (for aught I know) sing my prose out of date. Would you have it dated from Manchester with the initial letters of your name as it is in the *MS.*? I think that would be best, though I don't know whether you minded that circumstance." (*Id.*, 519-20.) Byrom replies, October 21st: "I am glad that Mr. Walford . . . has replaced the parcel in your hands. I did not think of the circumstance of Manchester and the initials till I had put it into his, but was very easy which way soever you should order it; all my fear was, that any circumstance should mix a nominal prejudice of any kind with truth, which is able to shift for itself . . . As, therefore, it seems to be full as natural for the date, &c., to stand as it does, so do as you think best." (*Id.*, 520.) Before receiving this letter, Law, as he writes in November 4th, had sent the *MS.* to the press, desiring Mr. Innis to let Mr. Richardson print it. "I have removed your Greek" (the motto from the Areopagite) "and set it in the title-page to puzzle many beholders. The title is—*Enthusiasm: a Poetical Essay, in a Letter to a Friend in Town.* On the back side of the page the Editor informs the public that it is by the same tall man, &c. Mr. Freke and Mr. Richardson correct the proof-sheets." (*Id.*, 521.) Thus, christened by Law, and printed and partly supervised in the printing by Samuel Richardson, this interesting production came before the public.

By some at least of Byrom's friends *Enthusiasm* was received with the warm appreciation which its literary merits alone must be allowed to have warranted; for close as the paraphrase is, Byrom's didactic muse rarely moved with a more rapid and at the same time with a more elastic step. (See John Lindsay's letter to Byrom, March 19th, 1752, in which the style of the prefatory prose letter is likewise justly praised, *Remains*, ii. 531.) But there was one important personage from whom a favourable opinion of the poem was hardly to be looked for. In ll. 127 *seqq.* Byrom had with unmistakeable *gusto* reproduced the picture drawn by Law of a particular kind of "enthusiasm," closely corres-

ponding to the interest in Egyptology which Warburton had on so ample a scale displayed in a long passage of the *Divine Legation*; and in ll. 137 *seqq.* he had added a reference to the main argument of that famous book which completely identified its author, winding up (ll. 165 *seqq.*) with an ambiguous reproduction of the charge brought by Law against Warburton of despising those Christians whose theological studies were conducted on a method opposite to his own. (See the *notes* on these passages, *infra*.) These passages, taken together with a more passing allusion in the *Epistle to a Templar* (l. 435), amounted, it must be allowed, to nothing short of a challenge; and Warburton was not the man to leave a glove on the ground. The correspondence which ensued is too long to be quoted *in extenso*; but it is very interesting, and shows Warburton under an aspect to which even those of his critics who have dealt least tenderly with his reputation have rendered justice—that of genuine large-mindedness united to admirable temper. In his first letter to Byrom, dated December 12th, 1751, he took particular exception to the insinuation, as he conceived, brought against him of regarding Christians “as a brainsick, visionary crew;” and in perfectly temperate language enquired what justification could be found in his writings for such a conclusion. “You would,” he says, in a sentence of pregnant precision, “convince men of the truth of the Gospel by inward feelings; I, by outward facts and evidence. But for this difference, why should I be any more an infidel to you than you are to me?” He reaffirms his argument concerning the virtual ignorance of the early Jews as to the doctrine of a future state, and urges that at all events it does not make for infidelity; and he concludes with stating his own view of enthusiasm. “You suppose enthusiasm consists in the mind’s being carried with eagerness and violence towards its object. I imagine this alone does not constitute the passion, and that justly to charge the mind with this weakness you should add that, in its progress for the establishment of the supposed truth which it makes its object, *the conviction of its conclusions exceeds the evidence of its principles*. From this time truth begins to be betrayed, and the enquirer after it justly incurs the character of an enthusiast. But if enthusiasm consists in this, then I am afraid the religious enthusiast (contrary to the position of your whole poem) is much more blameable and hurtful than an enthusiast of any other species, as his object is of infinitely greater importance than that of others.” (*Remains*, ii. 522-4.)

Byrom's rejoinder, dated February 22nd, 1752 (*Remains*, ii. 525-532), is too long and too elaborate, but not altogether ineffective. He demonstrates with evident sincerity, if not as concisely as might have been wished, the absence of any intention on his part to charge Warburton with infidelity; and then, passing on to the question of the definition of "enthusiasm," half excuses himself for adhering to his "favourite author's account," half attempts to uphold it by quotations "*ad hominem* and *ad rem*" from his opponent. (For the turn given by him to a quotation from Cicero by Warburton, see the lines *The Force of Truth* printed after the present poem.) In conclusion, he deprecates Warburton's very remarkable compliment, that his abuse was the first which had seemed worthy of expostulation, as the only one which had among vast numbers of assailants come from an honest man; and politely expresses a wish that "by any sacrifice but that of truth" he might have been found "amongst the friendly numbers that surround the men of genius and reputation." Warburton's second letter, dated April 3rd, 1752, adds little of substance to the issues between them, but is written in the same conciliatory spirit, as is shown by these engaging sentences at its close: "Though I reckoned you in the number of those who had thought fit to write against me, I by no means put you into their rank whose abuse is praise. You are found in that which the best writers aspire to: modesty, therefore, should not hinder you from reflecting, that a dash from your pen is not an indifferent matter." (*Remains*, ii. 534-5.) Byrom's final reply, dated April 10th, 1752, is in much the same vein, being clearly only conceived to wind up the correspondence pleasantly without abandoning his ground or his "master." (*Remains*, ii. 536-9.)

All this was very pleasant, in its way, and was indeed felt to be so by Byrom (see his letter to J. Houghton of April 14th, 1752, *Remains*, ii. 541). Warburton, too, though in his letter to Hurd, dated September 3rd, 1751 (*Remains*, ii. 366 *note*), he dwelt, without the slightest rancour, and, in my opinion, with incontestable force, upon "the sophism" in the main argument of Byrom's poem, he wrote to the same correspondent on January 2nd, 1752 (*ib.*, ii. 522 *note*), in terms showing a generous recognition of the literary merits of his opponent. "Do you know Byrom's character? or have you seen his two *Epistles*, one a year or two ago, on occasion of Sherlock's book of *Prophecies*, and the other, just now, on *Enthusiasm*? He is certainly a man of genius, plunged

A A



deep into the rankest fanaticism. His poetical *Epistles* show him both, which, were it not for some unaccountable negligence in his verse and language, would show us that he has hit upon the right style for familiar didactic epistles in verse. He is very libellous upon me; but I forgive him heartily, for he is not malevolent, but mad." When, therefore, at a much later date, March 5th, 1763, Francis Okely, after informing Byrom that the Bishop of Gloucester had been "terribly stung" by some of the reflexions bestowed upon him in the *Humble, Earnest and Affectionate Address to the Clergy* (Law's last work) as well as in the *Letter* to Bishop Sherlock, added that "he is very furious against *Enthusiasm*," I can hardly suppose Byrom's poem to be in question. Yet Okely adds (ineptly enough): "Some of my friends are apt to think he would not have ventured to attack Mr. Law had he been alive. Me-thinks I could wish the able pen of his friend Dr. Byrom might be taken up in his vindication. But I speak this perhaps as a fool." (*Remains*, ii. 649.) And, indeed, Byrom was then not very far from his end.

Between Law and Warburton there had never been any relaxation of the intense antagonism of which this is not the place to investigate origin or course. (Cf. Canon Overton's chapter, *Law on Warburton's Divine Legation* in his *William Law*, pp. 323-333, and the treatise itself in *Law's Works*, vol. viii.) "I much approve," writes the former to Byrom, 1752 (without further date), "of the manner in which you have treated your expostulator, which is both suitable to the lenity of your nature and that spirit which has more power in you than nature. He has reason enough to pay you the compliments he has done, and I believe I need not desire you to consider them as all of a piece with the erudition which you call *unblessed*." And he goes on to object against Warburton's attempt to distinguish between an "innocent" and a "hurtful" enthusiasm. (*Remains*, ii. 545.) Byrom dutifully replies on October 16th, 1752 (*ib.*, 548): "I shall look upon Mr. Warburton's compliments in the light that you would have me; as coming from him, they were unexpected and extraordinary; but if I should pride myself upon them, a reverse in a public pamphlet would as justly humble me;" and he goes on to quote a notice of his poem in *The Monthly Review* (vol. v. p. 462), where it was described as "nothing but a heavy attempt to vindicate enthusiasm and Mr. Law." (*Remains*, ii. 546.) The epithet "heavy" is, so far as I can judge, remarkably infelicitous even for a

reviewer who probably thought that any epithet would serve to stigmatise an admirer of such a teacher and an adherent of such a cause.

The text of the edition of 1752 is exactly reproduced in that of A, where, however, the Greek motto is altogether omitted.]

“FLY from *Enthusiasm* ! It is the Pest,  
 Bane, Poison, Frenzy, Fury,—and the rest.”  
 This is the Cry that oft, when Truth appears,  
 Forbids Attention to our list’ning Ears ;  
 Checks our first Entrance on the main Concern,  
 And, stunn’d with Clamour, we forbear to learn ;  
 Mechanically catch the common Cant,  
 And fly from what we almost know we want,—  
 A deeper Sense of *something* that should set  
 The Heart at Rest, that never has done yet ; 10  
 Some *simpler Secret* that, yet unreveal’d,  
 Amidst contending Systems lies conceal’d.

A Book, perhaps, beyond the vulgar Page,  
 Removes at once the Lumber of an Age ;  
 Truth is presented ; strikes upon our Eyes ;  
 We feel Conviction, and we fear Surprise ;  
 We gaze, admire, dispute, and then the Bawl :  
 “Fly from Enthusiasm !” That answers all.  
 Now, if my Friend has Patience to enquire,  
 Let us a while from noisy Scenes retire ; 20  
 Let us examine Sense as well as Sound,  
 And search the Truth, the Nature and the Ground.

6. When, stunn’d.—B.

1, 2. “Fly from ENTHUSIASM ! It is the Pest  
*Bane, Poison, Frenzy, Fury,—and the rest.*”  
 “Dr. Trap says all this is ‘Enthusiasm,  
 if ever there was any in the World ;’ that  
 they are the Words of Falsehood and  
 Frenzy.” *Some Animadversions upon Dr.*  
*Trapp’s Reply*, p. 303. Cf. *Answer to Dr.*  
*Trapp’s Discourse*, p. 6 : “Supported by  
 this Text, the Doctor endeavours to deter  
 and fright Christians from the ‘Sin, Folly  
 and Danger’ of being righteous over-  
 much and from what he calls the ‘baneful  
 Plague’ of Enthusiasm.”  
 2. *And the rest. Et cetera, et cetera.*

'Tis *Will, Imagination and Desire*  
 Of thinking Life that constitute the Fire,—  
 The Force, by which the strong Volitions drive,  
 And form the Scenes to which we are alive.  
 What tho', unsprouted into outward Shape,  
 The Points of Thought our grosser Sight escape,  
 Nor bulky Forms in prominent Array  
 Their secret cogitative Cause betray?  
 Once fix the Will, and Nature must begin  
 T' unfold its active Rudiments within;  
*Mind* governs *Matter*, and it must obey;  
 To all its opening Forms Desire is Key;  
 Nor Mind nor Matter's Properties are lost,—  
 As that shall mould, this must appear emboss'd.  
*Imagination*, trifling as it seems,  
 Big with Effects, its own Creation, teems.  
 We think our Wishes and Desires a Play,  
 And sport important Faculties away.  
 Edg'd are the Tools with which we trifle thus,  
 And carve our deep Realities for us.  
 Intention, roving into Nature's Field,  
 Dwells in that System which it means to build,

30

40

23 *seqq.* 'Tis WILL, IMAGINATION and DESIRE, &c. "In Will, Imagination and Desire consists the Life, or fiery Driving, of every intelligent Creature. And as every intelligent Creature is its own *Self-mover*, so every intelligent Creature has Power of *kindling* and *enflaming* its Will, Imagination and Desire, as it pleases, with Shadows, Fictions or Realities; with Things Carnal or spiritual, temporal or eternal. And *this kindling* of the Will, Imagination and Desire, when raised into a *ruling Degree* of Life is properly that which is to be understood by Enthusiasm." (*Some Animadversions*, &c., 305-6.) Byrom seems at an earlier date to have been in the habit

of using the word in the general sense of ardour, or what the Elisabethans would have called an "aspiring" mind or temperament. See his Diary, May 10th, 1737: "Mr. Legge said that the giving a way to pleasure as lawful—it could not be known where to stop, for every man would measure the licence by his own inclination, which I said was hitting the thing right; I made a comparison of an owl's blaming the enthusiasm of an eagle, his flying so, too far and too high for birds." (*Remains*, ii. 155.)

34. *Key*. Pronounce "kay." Cf. *ante*, p. 12 *note*, and below, *The Force of Truth*, l. 2.

Itself the Centre of its wish'd-for Plan;  
For where the Heart of Man is, there is Man.

Ev'ry created, understanding Mind  
Moves as its own Self-bias is inclin'd.  
From God's free Spirit breathèd forth to be,  
It must of all Necessity be free ; 50  
Must have the Pow'r to kindle and inflame  
The Subject-matter of its mental Aim.  
Whether it bend the voluntary View  
*Realities*, or *Fictions*, to pursue,—  
Whether it raise its Nature or degrade,  
To Truth substantial or to phantom Shade,—  
Falsehood or Truth accordingly obtains ;  
*That* only which it wills to gain, it gains,—  
*Good*, if the Good be vigorously sought,  
And *Ill*, if that be first resolv'd in Thought. 60  
All is one Good, that nothing can remove,  
While held in Union, Harmony, and Love.  
But when a selfish, separating Pride  
Will break all Bounds, and Good from Good divide,  
'Tis then extinguish'd, like a distant Spark,  
And Pride self-doom'd into its joyless Dark.  
The miscreant *Desire* turns Good to Ill  
In its own Origin, the *evil Will* ;—  
A Fact, that fills all Histories of old,  
That glares in Proof, while conscious we behold 70  
The Bliss, bespoken by our Maker's Voice,  
Fixt or perverted by a Man's own Choice.

*Now*, when the Mind determines thus its Force,  
The Man becomes Enthusiast of course.  
“What is Enthusiasm ?” What can it be  
But Thought enkindled to an high Degree,  
That may, whatever be its ruling Turn,—  
Right or not right,—with equal Ardour burn ?

It must be therefore various in its Kind,  
 As objects vary that engage the Mind. 80  
 When to Religion we confine the Word,  
 What Use of Language can be more absurd ?  
 'Tis just as true, that many Words beside,  
 As "Love" or "Zeal," are only thus applied.  
 To ev'ry Kind of Life they all belong ;  
 Men may be eager, tho' their Views be wrong.  
 And hence the Reason why the greatest Foes  
 To true religious Earnestness are those  
 Who fire their Wits upon a diff'rent Theme,  
 Deep in some false *enthusiastic* Scheme. 90

One Man politely, seiz'd with classic Rage,  
 Dotes on old *Rome* and its *Augustan* Age,—  
 On those great Souls who then, or then-about,  
 Made in their State such Riots and such Routs.  
 He fancies all magnificent and grand  
 Under this Mistress of the World's Command.  
 Scarce can his Breast the sad Reverse abide :  
 The Dame despoil'd of all her glorious Pride ;  
*Time*, an old *Goth*, advancing to consume  
 Immortal Gods and once eternal *Rome* ; 100  
 When the plain Gospel spread its artless Ray,  
 And rude uncultur'd Fishermen had Sway,

102. Unsculptur'd Fishermen (!) in all the editions.

81 seqq. "*When to Religion we confine the Word*, &c. "And the appropriate Enthusiasm to Religion, is the same Ignorance of Nature as to appropriate Law to Religion ; for Enthusiasm, a kindled, inflamed Spirit of Life, is as *common*, as *universal*, as *essential* to human Nature, as *Love* is. It goes into every *Kind* of Life as Love does, and has only such a Variety of Degrees in Mankind as Love hath. And here we may see the Reason, why no People are so angry at Religious Enthusiasts as those who are the *deepest* in some Enthusiasm of *another Kind*." (*Some Animadversions*, &c., 306.)  
 100. *ROME*. Pronounce "Room."  
 "O lawful let it be  
 That I have room with Rome to curse  
 awhile!"  
 —*King John*, iii. 1.

Who spar'd no Idol, tho' divinely carv'd,  
 Tho' Art, and Muse, and Shrine-Engraver starv'd ;  
 Who sav'd *poor Wretches*, and destroy'd, *alas !*  
 The vital Marble and the breathing Brass.  
 Where does all Sense to him and Reason shine ?  
 Behold, in *Tully's* Rhetoric divine !  
 "*Tully ?*" Enough ; high o'er the *Alps* he's gone,  
 To tread the Ground that *Tully* trod upon ; 110  
 Haply, to find his Statue or his Bust,  
 Or Medal green'd with *Ciceronian* Rust ;  
 Perchance, the *Rostrum*,—yea, the very Wood  
 Whereon this elevated Genius stood,  
 When forth on *Catiline*, as erst he spoke,  
 The Thunder of "*Quousque tandem*" broke.

Well may this *Grand Enthusiast* deride  
 The Dulness of a *Pilgrim's* humbler Pride,  
 Who paces to behold that Part of Earth  
 Which to the Saviour of the World gave Birth ; 120  
 To see the Sepulchre from whence He rose,  
 Or view the Rocks that rended at His Woes ;  
 Whom Pagan Reliques have no Force to charm,  
 Yet ev'n a modern Crucifix can warm,—  
 The Sacred Signal who intent upon,  
 Thinks on the Sacrifice That hung thereon.

108 *seqq.* In *TULLY'S Rhetoric divine!*  
 &c. "He whose Fire is kindled from the  
 Divinity of *Tully's* Rhetoric, who travels  
 over high Mountains to salute the dear  
 Ground that *Marcus Tullius Cicero* walked  
 upon ; whose noble Soul would be ready  
 to break out of his Body, if he could see  
 a Desk, a Rostrum from whence *Cicero*  
 had poured forth his Thunder of Words,  
 may well be unable to bear the Dulness of  
 those who go on *Pilgrimages* only to visit

the Sepulchre whence the Redeemer of the  
 World rose from the Dead, or who grow  
 devout at the Sight of a Crucifix, because  
 the Son of God hung as a Sacrifice there-  
 on." (*Some Animadversions, &c.*, 306-7.)

116. "*QUOUSQUE TANDEM.*" The  
 opening words of the *First Catilinarian*  
*Oration.*

122. *The Rocks that rended at His Woes.*  
 "And behold . . . the earth did quake,  
 and the rocks rent." (*St. Matt.*, xxviii. 51.)

Another's *heated Brain* is painted o'er  
 With ancient *Hieroglyphic* Marks of yore ;  
 He old *Egyptian Mummies* can explain,  
 And raise 'em up almost to Life again ;  
 Can into deep antique Recesses pry,  
 And tell of all the *Wherefore* and the *Why* ;  
 How this *Philosopher* and that has thought,  
 Believ'd one Thing, and quite another taught ;  
 Can Rules of *Grecian* Sages long forgot  
 Clear up, as if they liv'd upon the Spot.

130

127 *seqq.* Another's HEATED BRAIN is painted o'er, &c. "He whose heated Brain is all over painted with the ancient *Hieroglyphics* ; who knows *how* and *why* they were *this* and *that*, better than he can find out the Customs and Usages of his own *Parish* ; who can clear up every Thing that is *doubtful* in Antiquity, and yet be forced to live in Doubt about that which passes in his own Neighbourhood ; who has found out the Sentiments of the first *Philosophers* with such Certainty as he cannot find out the *real Opinion* of any of his Contemporaries ; he that has gone thus high into the *Clouds*, and dug thus deep into the *Dark* for these *glorious Discoveries*, may well despise those Christians as *brainsick Visionaries*, who are sometimes finding a *moral* and *spiritual* Sense in the bare Letter and History of Scripture-Facts." (*Some Animadversions*, 307.) Of the episodes and digressions in the *Divine Legation* so amusingly described by Lowth in his *Letter to Warburton*, one of the most notable is the disquisition on Egyptian hieroglyphics which, by way of a proof of the high antiquity of Egypt, occupies Sect. iv. of Book iv. (*Works*, iv.

116-214). Law can therefore hardly have intended this particular cap to fit anybody but Warburton,—though his mind occasionally worked rather oddly in such matters, so that for instance in *The Earnest and Serious Answer to Dr. Trapp* he draws the picture of an ideal Bishop of Winchester without, in his biographer's opinion, probably intending a side-glance at his old antagonist Hoadly, who then occupied that see. (Overton, *William Law*, 304.) In any case, it is not to be overlooked that Law charged his Egyptologist with despising as brainsick visionaries a particular class of Christians only—not Christians at large.

Byrom, by introducing in ll. 137 *seqq.* a further and quite unmistakeable reference to the theories of Warburton, removed any uncertainty that may have remained in his "Master's" allusion, and by following up this special reference with the general charge contained in ll. 165-170 gave colour to Warburton's complaint, that a contempt on his part for Christians at large had been insinuated in this poem. (See the extracts from their correspondence, in the *Introductory Note*.)

What Bounds to *Nostrum*?—*Moses* and the *Jews*  
 Observ'd this learnèd *Legislator's* Views,  
 While *Israel's* Leader purposely conceal'd  
 Truths, which his whole Economy reveal'd ; 140  
 No Heav'n disclos'd, but *Canaan's* fertile Stage,  
 And no *For-ever*, but a good *old Age* ;  
 Whilst the well-untaught People, kept in Awe  
 By meanless Types and unexplainèd Law,  
 Pray'd to their *local God* to grant a while  
 The *Future State* of Corn and Wine and Oil ;

137 *seqq.* *Moses and the Jews*, &c. The description of the argument of *The Divine Legation* in Byrom's letter to John Houghton (*Remains*, ii. 541) led Canon Parkinson to doubt whether the writer of the following passage had carefully read the work (see *note, ib.*). "For my part," Byrom writes, "a prophet of God that did not teach but conceal, a people of God that did not know or care for, this futurity, is—I know not what to call it, for it is not, there is no such thing." But I do not know that this can properly be called a misstatement of Warburton's theory, though it certainly puts the case bluntly ; moreover the passage, after all, occurs in a familiar letter. Law's *Short but Sufficient Computation of the Rev. Dr. Warburton's Projected Defence (as he calls it) of Christianity in his Divine Legation of Moses* was not published till 1757, in reply to an anonymous attack upon Bishop Sherlock, to whom Law's treatise was addressed, and who is said to have thanked him for it. (*Overton, u.s.*, 323 *seqq.* ; cf. *Remains*, ii. 590. The second edition of Law's treatise (1769) is included in vol. viii. of his collected *Works*.)

144. *By meanless Types.* Types which had no meaning to them. In his argument

against Collins (*Divine Legation*, Bk. vi. Sect. 6) Warburton argues that had the Jews, whose religion was founded only on temporal sanctions, and burdened with a minute and tiresome ritual, understood the significance of the types presented to them, they would have shaken off their subjection to Moses before the fulness of Time—*i.e.*, before the advent of the Messiah.

*Ib. Unexplained Law.* The legislation of Moses hardly admitted of full explanation to the Jews, if Warburton be right in asserting (*Book iv. Sect. 6*), "that many of the Laws given to them by the ministry of Moses were instituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in opposition to those and to the like superstitions."

145. *Pray'd to their LOCAL GOD, &c.* The Jewish state, as Warburton demonstrates, was a theocracy ; and "in the Jewish Republic, both the rewards and punishments promised by heaven were TEMPORAL only. Such as health, long life, peace, plenty, and dominion, &c." (*Divine Legation*, Book i. Section 5.) Or, as Law puts this view (*Appeal to all that Doubt*, p. 8) the Jews "took God only to be their *local* or *tutelary* Deity, and themselves to be only Animals of this World."

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Till, by a late Captivity set free,  
 Their destin'd Error they began to see,  
 Dropt the *Mosaic* Scheme, to teach their Youth  
*Dramatic* JOB and *Babylonish* Truth.

150

To soar aloft on Obeliskal Clouds ;  
 To dig down deep into the Dark—for Shrouds ;  
 To vex old Matters chronicled in *Greek*,  
 While those of his own Parish are to seek,—  
 What can come forth from such an *antic* Taste,  
 But a *Clarissimus Enthusiast*,  
 Fraught with Discoveries, so quaint, so new,  
 So deep, so smart, so *Ipse-dixit* true ?  
 See Arts and Empires, Ages, Books and Men,  
 Rising and falling, as he points the Pen ;  
 See Frauds and Forgeries, if aught surpass

160

150. *Dramatic* JOB and *BABYLONISH* Truth. In Book vi. Sect. 2, Warburton demonstrates at great length that the *Book of Job* is dramatical in character, that it was not written till after the return of the Jews from the *Babylonish* Captivity (whence they came back "with hearts full of zeal for the Law, and abhorrence of their former idolatries"), and that the famous passage (xix. 25) "I know that my Redeemer liveth" has reference to a temporal deliverance only.

151. *To soar aloft on Obeliskal Clouds*. Attending to the discussion in the *Divine Legation* (see above) of the hieroglyphs on "those remaining monuments of old Egyptian wisdom, the *Obelisks*." (Book iv. Sect. 4.)

152. *For Shrouds*. On the Mummies.

155. *Such an ANTIC Taste*. I have preserved the spelling "*antic*," though Byrom may have intended to use the word

(= *antique*) either in its original sense, or in the secondary one of "eccentric, odd."

156. *A CLARISSIMUS ENTHUSIAST*. See NARES, *s.v. Clarissimo*, which he explains as "a grandee or gentleman of Venice; called sometimes *magnifico*." He cites, *inter alia*, the following from Coryat: "It is said there are of all the gentlemen of Venice, which are there called *clarissimos*, no lesse than three thousand."

158. *So IPSE-DIXIT true*. The Latin equivalent of the "Who but I" of the *Remarks on Dr. Middleton's Examination*, &c., l. 886, and *Familiar Epistles to a Friend*, &c., Letter v. l. 94.

161. *See Frauds and Forgeries*. See him suspect frauds and forgeries. I cannot say to what this refers. Not, I think, to any suggestion of Warburton's in connexion with the passages of the Old Testament held to imply belief in a future state.

Of nobler Stretch the Limits of his Class,  
Nor found within that Summary of Laws,—  
Conjecture, tinsell'd with its own Applause !

Where Erudition so *unblest* prevails,  
Saints and their Lives are *legendary Tales* ;  
Christians a brainsick, visionary Crew,  
That read the *Bible* with a *Bible-View*,  
And thro' the *Letter* humbly hope to trace  
The *living* Word, the *Spirit*, and the *Grace*.

170

It matters not, whatever be the State  
That full-bent Will and strong Desires create.  
Where'er they fall, where'er they love to dwell,  
They kindle there their *Heaven* or their *Hell*.  
The chosen Scene surrounds them as their own ;  
All else is dead, insipid or unknown.  
However poor and empty be the Sphere,  
'Tis All, if Inclination centre there.

162. *His Class*. His sort. For this wider use of the word by Byrom cf. *The Country Fellows and the Ass*, l. 7 (I. 169. *ante*), *et al.*

163. *Nor found*. Nor is to be found.

167, 168. *Christians a brainsick, visionary Crew*

*That read the Bible with a Bible-View*, &c. Christians, who read the Bible in order to learn from the Bible, and who hope to trace, &c., are, by professors of so unblest an erudition, accounted a brainsick, visionary crew. (Cf. note to l. 127, *ante*.)

171 *segg*. *It matters not, whatever be the State*, &c. "It matters not what our Wills and Imaginations are employed about ; wherever they *fall* and love to *dwell*, there they *Kindle* a Fire, and that becomes the *Flame of Life*, to which everything else

appears as *dead*, and *insipid*, and *unworthy* of Regard. Hence it is that even the poor Species of *Fops* and *Beaux* have a right to be placed among Enthusiasts, though capable of no other Flame than that which is kindled by *Tailors* and *Peruke-Makers*.

All *refined Speculatists*, as such, are great Enthusiasts ; for being devoted to the Exercise of their Imaginations, they are so *heated* into a Love of their *own Ideas*, that they seek no other *summum bonum*. The *Grammarians*, the *Critic*, the *Poet*, the *Connoisseur*, the *Antiquary*, the *Philosopher*, the *Politician*, are all violent Enthusiasts, though their Heat is only a Flame from *Straw*, and therefore they all agree in *appropriating* Enthusiasm to Religion." (Some *Animadversions*, &c., 307-8.)

Its own *Enthusiasts* each System knows,  
 Down to lac'd *Fops* and Powder-sprinkled *Beaux*. 180  
 Great *Wits*, affecting what they call "to think,"  
 That deep-immers'd in Speculation sink,  
 Are great *Enthusiasts*, howe'er refin'd,  
 Whose Brain-bred Notions so inflame the Mind  
 That during the Continuance of its Heat  
 The *Summum Bonum* is its own Conceit.  
*Critics*, with all their Learning recondite ;  
*Poets*, that sev'rally be-musèd write ;  
 The *Virtuosos*, whether great or small ;  
 The *Connoisseurs*, that know the Worth of all ; 190  
*Philosophers*, that dictate Sentiments,  
 And *Politicians* wiser than Events,—  
 Such, and such-like, come under the *same Law*,  
 Altho' their Heat be from a Flame of *Straw*,—  
 Altho' in one Absurdity they chime :  
 To make religious Entheasm a Crime.

Endless to say how many of their Trade

181. *What they call "to think."* The spirit of this sarcasm comes near to "Thinking is but an empty waste of thought." Cf. *On Specious and Superficial Writers*, l. 6 and note, vol. i. p. 222, ante. The word "to think" must be allowed to lend itself to abuse.

189. *The VIRTUOSOS, whether great or small.* The name *Virtuosi* appears to have been originally given at Oxford to the pioneers of modern English scientific research (Locke, Sprat, Boyle, Wilkins, Petty, Wren, and Bathurst), who at the Restoration became the founders of the Royal Society (see Plumptre's *Life of Ken*, i. 52-3). The designation is applied by Shaftesbury to the thoroughly trained gentleman and philosopher, whose character

as such is perfected by "the taste of beauty and the relish of what is decent, just and amiable." (Cf. Leslie Stephen, *History of English Thought*, &c., ii. 20.)

196. *Entheasm.* This form is derived from the verb ἐνθεάζειν, which is used by Herodotus in the sense "to be inspired." In his Translation of I. H. Browne's *Immortality of the Soul*, l. 244 *infra*, Byrom uses "entheous" = of enthusiasm.

197 *seqq. Endless to say, &c.* "All ambitious, proud, self-conceited Persons, especially if they are *Scholars*, are violent Enthusiasts ; and their Enthusiasm is an inflamed Self-Love, Self-Esteem, and Self-Seeking. This Fire is so kindled in them, that everything is nauseous and disgusting to them, that does not offer Incense

Ambition, Pride and Self-conceit have made.  
 If one the chief of such a num'rous Name,  
 Let the great *Scholar* justify his Claim ! 200  
*Self-love*, in short, wherever it is found,  
 Tends to its own *enthusiastic* Ground.  
 With the same Force that Goodness mounts above,  
 Sinks, by its own enormous Weight, *Self-love*.  
 By this the wav'ring *Libertine* is prest,  
 And the rank *Atheist* totally possest.  
*Atheists* are dark *Enthusiasts* indeed,  
 Whose Fire enkindles like the smoking Weed ;  
 Lightless and dull the clouded Fancy burns,  
 Wild Hopes and Fears still flashing out by Turns. 210  
 Averse to Heav'n, amid the horrid Gleam  
 They quest *Annihilation's* monst'rous Theme,  
 On gloomy Depths of *Nothingness* to pore,  
 Till *All* be none, and *Being* be no more.

The sprightlier *Infidel*, as yet more gay,  
 Fires off the next *Ideas* in his Way,—  
 The dry Fag-ends of ev'ry obvious Doubt,  
 And puffs and blows for fear they should go out.

to that Idol which their Imagination has set up in themselves. All *Atheists* are dark *Enthusiasts* ; their Fire is kindled by a Will and Imagination turned from God into a gloomy Depth of *Nothingness*, and, therefore, their Enthusiasm is a *dull burning* Fire, that goes in and out through *Hopes* and *Fears* of they know not what to come." (*Some Animadversions*, &c., 508.)

*Ib.* How many of their Trade. Of of the class or "name" (l. 199) of *enthusiasts*.

198. *If one the chief.* If one is to be called the chief.

*Ib.* Of such a num'rous Name. Of so

numerous a body covered by one name. Byrom may have been thinking of the expression "*nomen Latinum*."

205. *Wav'ring.* Unstable, wanton.

212. *Quest.* Enquire into.

214. *Till ALL be none.* This again makes us in spite of ourselves remember : "And naught is everything, and everything is naught."

215 *seqq.* The sprightlier *INFIDEL*, &c.

"All *professed Infidels* are remarkable *Enthusiasts* ; they have kindled a *bold* Fire from a *few faint Ideas*, and therefore they are all Zeal and Courage and Industry to be *constantly blowing* it up. A *Tyndal* and a *Collins* are as inflamed with the

Boldly resolv'd, against Conviction steel'd  
 Nor inward Truth nor outward Fact to yield,— 220  
 Urg'd with a thousand Proofs, he stands unmov'd,  
 Fast by himself, and scorns to be out-prov'd.  
 To his own Reason loudly he appeals,—  
 No Saint more zealous for what God reveals !

Think not that you are no Enthusiast, then !  
 All Men are such, as sure as they are Men.  
 The Thing itself is not at all to blame ;  
 'Tis in each State of human Life the same,  
 The fiery Bent, the driving of the Will,  
 That gives the Prevalence to Good or Ill. 230  
 You need not go to *Cloisters* or to *Cells*,  
*Monks* or *Field-Preachers*, to see where it dwells.  
 It dwells alike in *Balls* and *Masquerades* ;  
*Courts*, *Camps*, and '*Changes* it alike pervades.  
 There be Enthusiasts who love to sit  
 In *Coffee-houses*, and cant out their Wit.

Notions of Infidelity, as a *St. Bennet* and *St. Francis* with the Doctrines of the Gospel." (*Some Animadversions*, &c., 308-9.)

225 *seqq.* *Think not that you are no Enthusiast, then !* "Enthusiasts therefore we all are, as certainly as we are Men ; and, consequently, Enthusiasm is not a thing blameable in *itself*, but is the common Condition of human Life in *all its States* ; and every Man that lives either *well or ill*, is that which he is, from that *prevailing Fire* of Life, or *driving* of our Wills and Desires, which is properly called Enthusiasm. You need not, then, go to a *Cloister*, the *Cell* of a *Monk*, or to a *Field-preacher*, to see Enthusiasts ; they are everywhere, at *Balls* and *Masquerades*, at *Court* and the *Exchange*. They sit in all *Coffee-houses*, and *cant* in all Assemblies.

The *Beau* and *Coquette* have no *Magic* but where they meet Enthusiasts. The *Mer- cer*, the *Tailor*, the *Book-seller*, have all their Wealth from them ; the Works of a *Bayle*, a *Shaftesbury*, and *Cicero*, would lose *four-fifths* of their astonishing Beauties, had they not *Keen Enthusiasts* for their Readers. (*Some Animadversions*, 309.)

232. *Field-preachers*. "Everyone hath his proper gift. Field-preaching is my plan. In this I am carried as on eagle's wings. God makes way for me everywhere." GEORGE WHITEFIELD (cited by Overton, *The Evangelical Revival*, in Abbey and Overton, *u.s.*, p. 339.)

236. *Cant out their Wit*. For this earlier use of "cant" cf. in the old seventeenth century play *Lady Alimony*, Act v. Sc. 2 : "Here be those Indian rats that

The first in most Assemblies would you see,  
 Mark out the first Haranguer, and that's He !  
 Nay, 'tis what silent Meetings cannot hide ;  
 It may be notic'd by its mere Outside. 240  
*Beaux* and *Coquettes* would quit the magic Dress,  
 Did not this mutual Instinct both possess.  
 The *Mercer*, *Tailor*, *Bookseller*, grows rich,  
 Because fine Clothes, fine Writings can bewitch.  
 A *Cicero*, a *Shaftesbury*, a *Bayle*,—  
 How quick would they diminish in their Sale !  
 Four-Fifths of all their Beauties who would heed,  
 Had they not *keen Enthusiasts* to read ?

That which concerns us, therefore, is to see  
 What Species of Enthusiasts we be ; 250  
 On what Materials the fiery Source  
 Of thinking Life shall execute its Force :  
 Whether a Man shall stir up Love or Hate  
 From the mix'd Medium of this present State ;  
 Shall choose with upright Heart and Mind to rise,  
 And reconnoitre Heav'n's primeval Skies,  
 Or down to Lust and Rapine to descend,  
*Brute* for a Time and *Demon* at its End.  
 "Neither, perhaps," the wary Sceptics cry,—  
 And wait till Nature's River shall run dry ; 260  
 With sage Reserve not passing o'er to Good,

cant and chirp in my pocket." (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xiv. 356.) In the French "*chantage*" (extortion of money by intimidation) the secondary meaning is curiously varied.  
 237. *The first*. The first enthusiast.  
 239. *Silent Meetings*. Quakers' meetings.  
 241. *The magic Dress*. The dress that charms.  
 249 *seqq.* *That which concerns us, therefore, &c.* "That which concerns us, therefore, is only to see with what Ma-

terials our *prevailing Fire* of Life is Kindled, and in what *Species* of Enthusiasts it truly places us." (*Some Animadversions*, 309-10.)  
 260. *And wait till Nature's River shall run dry*. An imitation of Hor. *Epist.*, i. 2, 42-4 :  
 —"*Qui recte vivendi prorogat horam, Rusticus expectat, dum defluat amnis ; at ille Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*"

Of Time, lost Time, are borne along the Flood,—  
Content to think such thoughtless Thinking right,  
And common Sense enthusiastic Flight.

“Fly from *Enthusiasm*?” Yes, fly from Air,  
And breathe it more intensely for your Care!  
Learn that, whatever Phantoms you embrace,  
Your own essential Property takes Place;  
Bend all your Wits against it,—’tis in vain:  
It must exist, or sacred or profane. 270  
For Flesh or Spirit, Wisdom from above  
Or from this World an Anger or a Love,  
Must have its Fire within the human Soul.  
’Tis ours to spread the Circle or control,—  
In Clouds of sensual Appetites to smoke,  
While smoth’ring Lusts the rising Conscience choke;  
Or from ideal Glimmerings to raise,  
Showy and faint, a superficial Blaze,  
Where subtle Reasons with their lambent Flames,  
Untouch’d the *Things*, creep round and round the *Names*;— 280  
Or, with a true celestial Ardour fir’d,  
Such as at first created Man inspir’d,  
To will, and to persist to will, the Light,  
The Love, the Joy, that makes an Angel bright,—  
That makes a Man in Sight of God to shine  
With all the Lustre of a Life Divine.

268. *Your own essential Property takes place.* The essential quality of your own nature asserts itself. Cf. *Humility*, l. 2, *ante*, p. 63, for the use of the expression “take place of” in the sense of “take precedence of.”—The collocation, unpleasant here, mars the beautiful *Christmas Hymn*, l. 42, *ante*, p. 22.

271. *For Flesh or Spirit*, &c. “For either the *Flesh* or the *Spirit*, either the

Wisdom from *above* or the Wisdom of *this World*, will have its *Fire* in us, and we must have a *Life* that governs us, either according to the Sensuality of the *Beast*, Subtlety of the *Serpent*, or the Holiness of the *Angel*.” (*Some Animadversions*, &c., 310.)

280. *Untouch’d the Things.* Without touching the substance of what they discuss.

When true Religion kindles up the Fire,  
 Who can condemn the vigorous Desire  
 That burns to reach the End for which 'twas giv'n,—  
 To shine and sparkle in its native Heav'n? 290  
 What else was our Creating Father's View;  
 His Image lost why sought He to renew?  
 Why all the Scenes of Love that Christians know,  
 But to attract us from this poor Below,—  
 To save us from the fatal Choice of Ill  
 And bless the free co-operating Will?

Blame not *Enthusiasm*, if rightly bent,—  
 Or blame of Saints the holiest Intent,  
 The strong Persuasion, the confirm'd Belief,  
 Of all the Comforts of a Soul the Chief, 300  
 That God's Continual Will and Work to save,  
 Teach and inspire, attend us to the Grave;  
 That they who in His Faith and Love abide,  
 Find in His Spirit an Immediate Guide.  
 This is no more a *Fancy* or a *Whim*,  
 Than that "we live, and move, and are in Him."  
 Let Nature, or let Scripture, be the *Ground*,—  
 Here is the *Seat* of true Religion found.

287 seqq. *Where true Religion Kindles up the Fire*, &c. "We are created with *Wills* and *Desires* for no other Ends but to love, adore, desire, serve, and co-operate with God; and therefore, the more we are inflamed in *this Motion* of our *Wills* and *Desires*, the more we have of a God-like, Divine Nature and Perfection in us." (*Ib.*)

297. *Blame not ENTHUSIASM, if rightly bent*, &c. "Religious Enthusiasm is not blameable, when it is a *strong Persuasion*, a *firm Belief* of a continual Operation, Impression, and Influence from above, when it is a total Resignation to, and Dependence upon the *immediate Inspiration* and *Guidance* of the holy Spirit in the whole Course of our Lives; this is as sober and rational a Belief, as to believe that we always live, and move, and have our Being in God, Both Nature and Scripture demonstrate this to be the true Spirit of a Religious Man." (*Ib.*)

301 seqq. *That God's Continual Will*, &c. [The belief] that the continual desire and operation of the Divine Spirit to save, teach and inspire us, are present with us unto our death.

306. "*We live, and move, and are in Him.*" "For in Him we live, and move, and have our being." (*Acts*, xvii. 28.)

C C



An Earthly Life, as Life itself explains,  
 The *Air* and *Spirit* of this World maintains ; 310  
 As plainly does an Heav'nly Life declare  
 An Heav'nly *Spirit* and an Holy *Air*.

What Truth more plainly does the Gospel teach,  
 What Doctrine all its Missionaries preach,  
 Than this : that ev'ry good Desire and Thought  
 Is in us by the Holy Spirit wrought ?  
 For this, the working *Faith* prepares the Mind,  
*Hope* is expectant, *Charity* resign'd ;  
 From this Blest Guide the Moment we depart,  
 What is there left to sanctify the Heart ? 320  
 "Reason and Morals ?"—And where live they most ?  
 In Christian Comfort, or in *Stoic* Boast ?  
 Reason may paint unpractis'd Truth exact,  
 And Morals rigidly maintain—no Fact ;  
*This* is the *Pow'r* that raises them to Worth,  
 That calls their rip'ning Excellences forth.  
 "Not ask for this ?"—May Heav'n forbid the vain,  
 The sad Repose ! What Virtue can remain ?  
 What Virtue wanting, if within the Breast  
 This Faith, productive of all Virtue, rest : 330  
 That God is always present to impart  
 His Light and Spirit to the willing Heart ?

313 *seqq.* *What Truth more plainly does the Gospel teach, &c.* "The Gospel teaches no Truth so *constantly*, so *universally* as this, that every good Thought and Desire are the Work of the holy Spirit. And therefore both Nature and Scripture demonstrate, that the *one only* Way to Piety, Virtue, and Holiness, is to *prepare*, *expect*, and *resign* ourselves up wholly to the Influence and Guidance of the holy

Spirit in everything that we think or say or do. The Moment anyone departs from *This Faith*, or loses *this Direction* of his Will and Desire, so far and so long he goes out of the one only Element of all Holiness of Life." (*Some Animadversions, &c.*, 311.)

324. *And Morals rigidly maintain—no Fact.* And a system of ethics may rigidly maintain—principles of conduct, but not conduct itself.

He who can say, "My willing Heart began  
 To learn this Lesson," may be christen'd *Man* ;—  
 Before a Son of *Elements* and *Earth*,  
 But now a Creature of another Birth,  
 Whose true regenerated Soul revives,  
 And Life from Him That ever lives derives.  
 Freed by compendious Faith from all the Pangs  
 Of long-fetch'd Motives and perplex'd Harangues, 340  
 One Word of Promise stedfastly embrac'd,  
 His Heart is fix'd, its whole Dependence plac'd ;  
 The Hope is rais'd, that cannot but succeed,  
 And found *Infallibility* indeed.  
 Then flows the *Love* that no Distinction knows  
 Of *System*, *Sect* or *Party*, *Friends* or *Foes*,  
 Nor loves by halves ; but, faithful to its Call,  
 Stretches its whole Benevolence to All,—  
 It's universal Wish th' Angelic Scene :  
 That God within the Heart of Man may reign, 350  
 The True Beginning to the Final Whole  
 Of Heav'n and Heav'nly Life within the Soul.

This Faith and this Dependence once destroy'd,  
 Man is made helpless, and the Gospel void.  
 He that is taught to seek elsewhere for Aid,  
 Be who he will the Teacher, is betray'd ;

344. *Infallibility* is found indeed.—B.

333 *seqq.* *He who can say, "My willing Heart began,"* &c. "When the Heart has once learnt thus to find God, and knows how to live everywhere and in all Things in this immediate Intercourse with him, seeing him, loving him, and adoring him in everything, trusting in him, depending upon him for his continual Light and holy Spirit ; when it knows that *this Faith* is infallible, that by thus believing, it thus possesses all that it believes of God ; then it begins to have the Nature of God in it, and can do nothing but flow forth in Love, Benevolence, and Good-will towards every Creature ; it can have no Wish towards any Man but that he might thus know and love and find God in himself as the true Beginning of Heaven and the heavenly Life in the Soul." (*Id.*, 311-2.)

Be what it will the System, he's enslav'd :  
 Man by Man's Maker only can be sav'd.  
 In this One Fountain of all Help to trust,  
 What is more easy, natural, and just ? 360  
 Talk what we will of Morals, and of Bliss,  
 Our Safety has no other Source but this.  
 Led by this Faith, when Man forsakes his Sin,  
 The Gate stands open to his God within :  
 There, in the Temple of his Soul, is found  
 Of inward central Life the Holy Ground,—  
 The Sacred Scene of Piety and Peace,  
 Where new-born Christians feel the Life's Increase,  
 Blessing and blest, revive to pristine Youth,  
 And worship God "in Spirit and in Truth." 370

Had not the Soul this Origin, this Root,  
 What else were Man but a two-handed Brute,—  
 What but a Devil, had he not possess  
 The Seed of Heav'n, *replanted* in his Breast,—  
 The Spark of Potency, the Ray of Light,  
 His Call, his Help, his Fitness to excite  
 The Strength and Vigour of Celestial Air,  
 Faith, and the Breath of living Christians, Pray'r ;—  
 Not the Lip-Service, nor the mouthing Waste  
 Of heartless Words without an inward Taste, 380  
 But the true Kindling of desirous Love,  
 That draws the Willing Graces from above,—

363 *seqq.* *Led by this Faith, when Man forsakes his Sin.* "For every Man, as such, has an open Gate to God in his Soul ; he is always in that Temple, where he can worship God in Spirit and in Truth ; every Christian, as such, has the *First-fruits* of the Spirit, a *Seed* of Life, which is his *Call* and *Qualification* to be always in a State of inward Prayer, Faith and holy Interchange with God." (*Ib.*, 312.)  
 370. *Worship God "in Spirit and in Truth."* "God is a Spirit ; and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." (*St. John*, iv. 24.)  
 376, 377. *His Fitness to excite The Strength and Vigour of Celestial Air.* His fitness to engage supernatural agencies in his support.

The Thirst of Good that naturally pants  
 After that Light and Spirit which it wants,  
 In Whose blest Union quickly coincide  
 To ask and have, to want and be supplied ?  
 Then does the faithful Suppliant discern  
 More of True Good, more of True Nature learn  
 Than from a thousand Volumes on the Shelf  
 In one meek Intercourse with Truth Itself.

390

All that the Gospel ever could ordain,  
 All that the Church's daily Rites maintain,  
 Is to keep up, to strengthen and employ  
 This lively Faith, this Principle of Joy,—  
 This Hope and this Possession of the End  
 Which all her pious Institutes intend,  
 Fram'd to convey, when freed from wordy Strife,  
 The Truth and Spirit of an inward Life,  
 Wherein th' Eternal Parent of all Good  
 By His own Influence is understood ;  
 That Man may learn infallibly aright,  
 Blest in His Presence, seeing in His Light,  
 To gain the Habit of a Godlike Mind,  
 To seek His Holy Spirit,—and to find.

400

In this *Enthusiasm*, advanc'd *thus high*,  
 'Tis a true Christian Wish to live and die.

389, 390. Transposed in B.

391 *seqq.* *All that the Gospel ever could* habituated to seek him and find him; to live  
*ordain*, &c. "All the *Ordinances* of the in his Light, and walk by his Spirit in all  
 Gospel, the daily *sacramental* Service of the Actions of our ordinary Life. This is  
 the Church, is to keep up, and exercise the Enthusiasm in which every good  
 and strengthen *this Faith*; to raise us to Christian ought to endeavour to live and  
 such an habitual Faith and Dependence die." (*Ib.*, 313.)  
 upon the Light and holy Spirit of God, 404. *To seek His Holy Spirit,—and to*  
 that by thus seeking and finding God in *find*. There may be an allusion in this  
 the *Institutions* of the Church, we may be beautiful line to *St. John*, vii. 34-6.

## THE FORCE OF TRUTH.

[These lines are a translation by Byrom of the passage cited from Cicero, *Oratio pro M. Caelio*, cap. xxvi., by Warburton at the commencement of *Book III.* of his *Alliance between Church and State*: "*O magna vis veritatis, quæ contra hominum ingenia, calliditatem, sollicitiam, conteaque fictas omnium insidias, facile se per se ipsa defendat!*" They occur in Byrom's reply, dated February 22nd, 1752, to Warburton's letter concerning the references to him in the *Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple*, and in *Enthusiasm*. Whether, says Byrom, his correspondent's fine quotation at the commencement of *Book III.* of *The Alliance between Church and State*, be as applicable as Warburton thinks to his own *Alliance*, or as applicable to Mr. Law's *Appeal* as he (Byrom) thinks, "every one must allow that they are writers of respect, of whose doctrines it may be justly said, 'O Force of Truth, &c.'" (See *Remains*, ii. 529; and cf. the *Introductory Note* to *Enthusiasm*, ante, p. 177.)]

O FORCE of Truth, beyond suppression great  
 By human wit, skill, cunning or deceit,—  
 Let men attack her in what shape they please,  
 She by herself defends herself with ease!

1. *Beyond suppression great.* A Byronic which in Byrom's day was the English inversion. usage likewise. Cf. ante, *Enthusiasm*,

2. *Deceit.* Pronounce more *Hibernico*, l. 34 and note.

## REMARKS

ON DR. MIDDLETON'S EXAMINATION OF THE LORD  
 BISHOP OF LONDON'S DISCOURSES CONCERNING  
 THE USE AND INTENT OF PROPHECY.

["And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount.] We have also a more sure Word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts." (*and Epistle of St. Peter*, i. 18-19.)

[“Καὶ ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐνεχθεῖσαν σὺν αὐτῷ ὅντες ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἁγίῳ.] Καὶ ἔχομεν βαβαιότερον τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον, ᾧ καλῶς ποιεῖτε προσέχοντες ὡς λόχυν φαινοῦντι ἐν ἀρχμυρῇ τόπῳ, ἕως οὗ ἡμέρα διαγωγῆς καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατελεῖ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν. (*Ib.*, *Græce.*)]

[And this voice we *ourselves* heard come out of heaven, when we were with him in the holy mount. And we have the word of prophecy *made* more sure; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a lamp shining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise to your hearts. (*Ib.*, *Revised Version.*)]

[Although Sherlock's *Six Discourses on the Use and Intent of Prophecy in the Several Ages of the World* were published as early as 1725, having been delivered at the Temple Church in April and May 1724, Middleton's *Examination* of them was not put forth till 1750, when the Master of the Temple had, after occupying successively the sees of Bangor and Salisbury, become Bishop of London. Byrom's strictures were probably composed soon after the publication of Middleton's *Examination*. While there was little to attract Byrom in the cold dry light shed upon theological questions by the lawyerlike mind of Sherlock, the scepticism—at times coming very near to cynicism—of Middleton could not but be directly repugnant to him; in addition to which he probably entertained a personal dislike for one of Bentley's early adversaries (cf. *Remains*, ii. 45, *note*).

Anthony Collins, whose claim to the title of “The Freethinker” *par excellence* (cf. l. 913, *infra*) rests above all on his *Discourse of Free-thinking* (1713) and on Bentley's reply to that essay, in 1724 published his *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. As is well known, this latter book, beginning with a vigorous plea in favour of liberty of debate in matters of religion, took the form of an attack upon Whiston's *Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament, and for the vindicating of the Citations thence made in the New Testament* (1722). It was intended to show, in the first instance, and before entering upon Whiston's strange counter-supposition of the corruption of the Septuagint text, that the argument from the fulfilment of prophecy is the main argument for the truth of the Christian religion, and to imply that inasmuch as the prophecies in question have not been literally fulfilled, while their allegorical fulfilment is an empty assumption, this main argument breaks down. Collins' *Discourse* gave rise to a controversy of extraordinary activity, so that in his *Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered*, published in 1727, “the Freethinker” had the satisfaction of

enumerating not less than thirty-five treatises as having arisen out of the discussion. (LESLIE STEPHEN, *History of English Thought*, &c., 2nd ed., i. 214 *seqq.*)

To this controversy, Sherlock's *Six Discourses* formed a notable contribution. His masterpiece, *The Trial of the Witnesses*, was not published till 1739, when he already held the Bishopric of Bangor; but his Cambridge and Temple reputation already stood high ("the Temple Church," says Dodsley in his *Art of Preaching*, "asks Sherlock's sense and skill"), and when he struck a blow in this conflict, he was not likely to strike it at random. In the *Preface* to his *Six Discourses* he disclaims having designed them as an answer to Collins' *Grounds and Reasons*, &c., although they were no doubt suggested by that work. The object of the *Discourses* as a whole is to demonstrate the coherence of the entire series of prophecies—including both those of the Old and those of the New Testament—as a chain of evidence completed by the coming of Christ. *Discourse I.* takes as its special text the verse (*2nd Epistle of St. Peter*, i. 19) quoted by Collins, in his desire to show the futility of the argument from prophecy, as illustrating by the authority of St. Peter himself, the position that "prophecy is a stronger argument for the truth of Christianity than a miracle, which depends on external evidence and testimony." Sherlock, while unwilling to wrest the words of his text from their natural meaning, rejects as admittedly absurd the supposition that St. Peter could have intended to set up prophecy as a superior evidence of the truth of the Gospel to any other evidence. The key to the difficulty suggested by him is the argument that the subject of St. Peter's statement is, in accordance with the whole design of his Epistle, not the truths of the Gospel at large, but the coming of our Lord; and that in reference to this particular subject the Apostle naturally and necessarily used the expression "a more sure word of prophecy." St. Peter had been an eye-witness of our Lord's majesty and glory; but that He would come again in this power and glory, St. Peter could not prove unless by the chain of evidence supplied by the prophecies of the Old and the New Testament (which the subsequent *Discourses* accordingly discuss at length).

Middleton's *Examination*, which makes up for the tardiness of its appearance by an insolence of tone such as in our own day would happily be deemed unbearable, joins issue with Sherlock, so far as the

question of our text is concerned, both as to the Bishop's statement of the view taken by previous interpreters and as to his own interpretation. With regard to the former, Middleton professes to see no absurdity in St. Peter having drawn a comparison such as the text, taken literally, conveys, more especially as this comparison was drawn for the benefit of his Jewish hearers. With regard to the Bishop's own interpretation, his censor rejects it as utterly unwarranted, and together with it condemns as illusory the entire view of the scheme and purpose of prophecy developed in the *Six Discourses*. But, in so far as Sherlock's commentary on the text from the *Second Epistle of St. Peter* is concerned, Middleton's *marginalia* are reproduced in Byrom's verses with a completeness sufficient to enable the reader to form his own opinion on the merits of the dispute.

Byrom was no doubt led to intervene in this controversy partly by the antipathy which must have been excited in his gentle and reverent mind by the indecency of Middleton's manner, partly by the deeper indignation with which he must have found those aspects of the text which to his own mind carried their meaning with them ignored by Sherlock's rationalist opponent. And although Byrom's attempt to prove the text satisfactorily plain as of itself cannot be said to add much force to Sherlock's interpretation, there is true eloquence in his deduction of St. Peter's meaning from St. Peter's experience and character, and an edifying warmth in this as well as in other passages of his simple argument, which contrasts favourably with the ungentle acidity of the *Examination* that gave rise to it. Altogether, notwithstanding its excessive lengthiness, the ensuing production seems to me as effective in its way as any other of its author's essays in the didactic vein.

The references in my notes are to vol. iv. of *Bishop Sherlock's Works*, edited by T. S. Hughes (1830), and to vol. v. of *The Miscellaneous Works of the late Reverend and Learned Conyers Middleton, D.D.* (2nd. edition, 1755). Most, but not all of the passages quoted from Middleton are also given in A and B, but I have in each case quoted directly from the treatise.]

THIS Passage, Sir, which has engag'd of late  
 So many Writers in such high Debate  
 About the Nature of Prophetic Light,

D D



Has not, I think, been understood aright ;  
Nor does the Critic *Middleton's* new Tract  
Relate the Meaning fairly or the Fact.

*Peter*, you know, Sir, by his own Account  
Was with our Saviour in the holy Mount ;  
Where he and two Apostles more beheld  
The *Shechinah*, or Glory that excell'd ; 10  
Saw that Divine Appearance of our Lord  
Which Three of the Evangelists record,  
His Face a Sun, and Light His Whole Array,—  
Prophetic Glimpse of that Eternal Day  
Wherein, the Glance of Sun and Moon suppress,  
God shall Himself enlighten all the blest ;  
Shall from His Temple, from the Sacred Shrine  
Shine forth of human Majesty Divine.  
To this Grand Vision, which the chosen Three  
Were call'd before they tasted Death to see, 20  
Was added Proof to the astonish'd Ear,  
That made Presential Deity appear ;  
And by a Voice from God the Father's Throne  
His Well-beloved Son was then made known.

Now, search of Mysteries the whole Abyss,  
What more entire Conviction, Sir, than this ?  
Of human Reason search the wide Pretence,  
What more miraculous and plain to Sense ?

7. *By his own Account.* See 2nd Epistle of St. Peter, i. 16-18. before His people on their march. See Exodus, xiv. 20-22.

9. *And two Apostles more.* The brothers St. James and St. John. 12. *Three of the Evangelists.* St. Matthew (xvii. 1-13), St. Mark (ix. 2-10), and St. Luke (ix. 28-36).

10. *The SHECHINAH, or Glory that excell'd.* The *Shechinah*, or pillar of fire by night and of a cloud by day, in which the visible symbol of the Lord's presence went 23. *By a Voice.* "And behold a voice out of the cloud, which said," &c. (St. Matthew, xvii. 5.)

But Reason oft interprets past Event  
 Just as the human Heart and Will is bent. 30  
 The *Doctor*, whom his own Productions call  
 No hearty Friend to Miracles at all,  
 Disguises this, to bring his Point about,  
 As if both Sight and Hearing left a Doubt,—  
 Left some Perplexity on *Peter's* Mind,  
 Quite against all that he himself defin'd :  
 "This wond'rous Apparition, Sir, might leave  
 "Something too hard precisely to conceive,  
 "And Circumstances raise within his Soul  
 "Suspense about the Nature of the whole." 40

What Kind of saunt'ring Spirit could suggest  
 Such groundless Cavil to a Christian Breast ?

30. Will are bent.—B.

31. *His own Productions.* "His various tracts are directed chiefly against the belief in verbal inspiration; that belief, however, was obnoxious chiefly as standing in the way of a more important doctrine, which finds expression in his *Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers which are supposed to have existed in the Christian Church through several successive Ages*. This book appeared in 1748, and is said by Hume to have 'eclipsed' his *Essay on Miracles*, which, by a noteworthy coincidence, appeared in the same year." (LESLIE STEPHEN, *u.s.*, i. 264.) "In 1749, Wesley spent nearly three weeks in the 'unpleasant employment' of answering Middleton's *Free Enquiry*." (*Ib.*, ii. 413.)

37 *seqq.* "This wond'rous Apparition," &c. "But should we admit, what His Lordship affirms, that the text, as it is expounded by that Author" [Collins] "makes '*Peter* prefer Prophecy, as a surer argument, even to himself, than the voice which

he heard in the Mount:' how will this prove that exposition to be inconsistent, or that 'Peter must be out of his wits in saying so?' It is no offence, surely, either to reason or religion to imagine that this wonderful apparition and voice might be accompanied with such circumstances as would naturally leave some doubt and perplexity on the mind concerning the precise manner and nature of the whole transaction. For Peter, as we read, was in such a fright and amazement, at what he saw and heard, 'that he knew not what he said;' and both he and the two other Apostles then with him, James and John, were so greatly terrified, that 'they fell upon their faces to the ground, and durst not so much as look up,' till Jesus, when the vision was over, came to raise and encourage them." MIDDLETON, 224-5.

41. *Saunt'ring Spirit.* To "saunter" formerly conveyed a notion of frivolity, and even of something worse, such as now

What Christian Priest, at least, would choose to paint  
 His Saviour's Glory in a Light so faint?—  
 But, let this suit the Priesthood, if you will;—  
 Pray, what Foundation for his critic Skill,  
 For *Peter's* doubting what he *saw* and *heard*,  
 For Scruples first imagin'd, then inferr'd?

The Reason here assign'd is "Fear and Dread,  
 "So great that Peter knew not what he said; 50  
 "He, and his Partners in the Vision too,  
 "Fell on their Faces at Its Awful View,  
 "Nor durst look up, till Jesus at the last  
 "Came to and rais'd them, when 'twas overpast."

O vain Suggestion! Could they see and hear  
 Without an Adoration, without Fear?  
 If they were struck with more than mortal Awe,  
 Their very *Fear* was *Proof* of what they saw;  
 For Strength to see and Weakness to sustain  
 Made both alike the Heav'nly Vision plain; 60  
 Nor has he once attempted to devise  
 What else should strike them with so great Surprise.

If, overcome with reverential Dread,  
 Th' amaz'd Apostle wist not what he said,  
 Unbiass'd Reason would itself confess  
 A Greater Light, diminishing its less.  
 Thus, in the Sacred Books if we recall  
 The first recorded Presence since the Fall,  
 Themselves from God when our first Parents hid,

hardly attaches to the word. So Halifax a stronger temptation to Princes than it is  
 (George Savile) says in his inimitable to others."  
*Character of King Charles II.* (edn. 1750, 66. *Its less.* The lesser light of reason  
 p. 23): "The thing called *Sauntering* is itself.

It might be said they wist not what they did. 70  
 Yet were they taught their comfortable Creed,  
 The Promise of the Woman's Conqu'ring Seed ;  
 As here th' Apostles were empower'd to see  
 That *Jesus*, God's Belovèd Son, was He.

If, when God spake, each fell upon his Face,  
 How oft, in ancient Times, was this the Case !  
 What Prophet, Sir, to whom He spake of Yore,  
 His Voice or Vision unsupported bore ?  
*Moses* himself, when unawares he trod  
 On holy Ground and heard the Voice of God, 80  
 Tho' turn'd aside on purpose to enquire  
 What kept the Bush unburnt amidst the Fire,  
 Stopp'd in his Search by the Divine Rebuke,  
 Straight "hid his Face," and was "afraid to look."

*Abram*, the covenanted Sire of all  
 Who in his Faith upon the Lord should call,  
 When he receiv'd the Seal of it, the Sign  
 Of Circumcision, from the Voice Divine,  
 Fell on his Face;—and must we then conceit  
 His Proofs, that God talk'd with him, incomplete ? 90

Read how *Isaiah* thought himself undone,  
 When he had seen God's Glory in his Son,

70. *They wist not what they did.* Because of the confusion in Adam's answer : Heaven had announced to be God's Belovèd Son, was actually such. (See *St. Matthew*, xvii. 5.)

"I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked, and I hid myself." (*Genesis*, iii. 10.) 79 *seqq.* *MOSES* himself, &c. See *Exodus*, iii. 6.

71. *Yet were they taught their comfortable Creed.* It must, however, be observed that "the comfortable Creed" was not made known to Adam till after he had confessed his fear. (*Genesis*, iii. 15.) 85 *seqq.* *ABRAM*, the covenanted Sire. See *Genesis*, xvii. 4; and cf. the curious passage, *ib.*, 17 : "Then Abraham fell upon his face, and laughed."

74. *That JESUS, God's Belovèd Son, was He.* That Jesus, Whom the Voice from 91. Read how *ISAIAH* thought himself undone. See *Isaiah*, vi. 1-7.

Until the Seraph with a living Coal  
 From off the Altar purg'd the Prophet's Soul.  
 Read how *Ezechiel* too with like Surprise,  
 When Heav'n was open'd to his wond'ring Eyes,  
 Fell on his Face at the same Glorious Sight,  
 Till by God's Spirit made to stand upright.  
 Thus, *Daniel* prostrate ; thus, the great Divine  
 Who saw th' Apocalyptic Scenes ;—in fine, 100  
 Thus human Strength alone could never stand,  
 When God appear'd, unaided by His Hand.  
 To urge a Reason then from *Fear*, to doubt  
 The glorious Fact that could not be without,  
 Only befits a feeble, faithless Mind,  
 To heav'nly Voice and Vision deaf and blind.

The learnèd Prelate, against whose Discourse  
 This Gentleman has aim'd his present Force,  
 Thought it absurd in any one to make  
 St. *Peter* for his own Conviction's Sake 110  
 Say that old Prophecies should be preferr'd  
 To God's Immediate Voice which he had heard.  
 Such a Comparison, he thought, became  
 No sober Man, much less the Saint, to frame ;

94 *seqq.* Read how EZECHIEL too, &c. See *Ezechiel*, i. 28 ; ii. 1-2.

99. Thus, DANIEL prostrate. See *Daniel*, x. 9-11.

*Ib.* Thus, the great Divine. St. John the Divine ; see *Revelation*, i. 17.

106 *seqq.* The learnèd Prelate, &c. ". . . The comparison in the text with respect to St. Peter himself is between the 'word of prophecy' and the *immediate* word of God ; and according to this exposition of the text, St. Peter, who declares that he heard the voice of God *himself* in the

mount, is made in his OWN person to say (for the words are, 'WE have a more sure word of prophecy'), that the dark prophecies of the Old Testament were a surer and more certain evidence than this immediate voice of God which he heard with his own ears. Now what is prophecy, that it should be more surely and certainly to be depended on than the immediate voice of God ? Is it possible to think that St. Peter, or any man in his wits, could make such a comparison ?" (SHERLOCK, p. 13, *Discourse I.*)

Concluding it impossible, from hence,  
That this could ever be St. *Peter's* Sense.

Tho' "'tis not only possible," it seems,  
"But weak, moreover," as the Doctor deems,  
"To doubt it,—a Comparison so just  
"Peter not only *might* have made, but *must*."— 120  
And then he cites rabbinical Remarks,  
To prove the *Paradox* from learned Clerks.  
Not that he minds what any of them writes,  
But most despises whom he chiefly cites.  
*Lightfoot's* Authority,—to instance one,—  
Is first, and last, and most insisted on ;

"The Soundness of whose Faith," he interjects,  
"And Erudition Nobody suspects."  
Or, if the Reader wants a full Display  
Of these Endowments : "*Lightfoot* shows the Way 130

117 *seqq.* Tho' "'tis not only possible," according to Gibbon, "by constant reading of the rabbis, became almost a rabbi himself." See the interesting account of this great scholar and wise man by Dr. J. Hamilton in vol. xxxiii. of *The Dictionary of National Biography*.  
&c. "To which question" (that put by Sherlock in the last sentence of the preceding note), "so smartly and confidently put, I readily answer : that it is not only possible that *St. Peter* might make such a comparison, but even weak to imagine that he could make any other." (MIDDLETON, pp. 219-220.)

127 *seqq.* "*The Soundness of whose Faith*," &c. "Dr. Lightfoot also, the Soundness of whose faith and erudition is allowed by all," &c. (in the passage cited in the note to l. 124 above).

124. *But most despises whom he chiefly cites.* This may seem bitter ; but it is certainly difficult to suppose that Middleton assented to Lightfoot's conjecture (*ib.*, 223) that the Bath-Kol was either formed by the Devil, or by the devilish art of the Magicians.

130 *seqq.* "*LIGHTFOOT shows the Way*," &c. The following quotation, given in a note to this passage in A, appears to have been judiciously omitted from Middleton's *Examination*, when reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Works*. "Now, by the same Method of Reasoning, and the Liberty which his Lordship everywhere assumes, of supposing whatever Premises he wants,

"How, by assuming Liberty to take  
 "For granted straight what Premises we make,  
 "Whatever Notions or Opinions tend  
 "To favour that which we would recommend  
 "We may demonstrate by such Arts as these  
 "A Doctrine true, Divine, or what we please."

This, Sir, is his Description of *sound Faith* ;  
 Let us now see what *Argument* it hath.  
 This trusty Evidence, amongst the rest,  
 Is call'd to prove a Voice from Heav'n a Jest, 140  
 The Jews' *Bath-Kol* a cunning acted Part,  
 A Fable, Phantasy or Magic Art,  
 Voice of the Devil or of Dev'lish Elves,  
 To cheat the People and promote themselves.  
 And hence th' Apostle, is the Inf'rence drawn,  
 "That claims the special Notice of the Lawn,"  
 That comes to clear this famous Prelate's Sight,  
 With Reason good preferr'd prophetic Light.

and taking everything for granted which tends to confirm his Hypothesis, we may prove any Doctrine to be true, or divine, or whatever we please to make of it. Dr. Lightfoot has shewn us the Way."

141. *The Jews' Bath-Kol.* "The spirit of Prophecy, which continued in the Jewish Church till after its restoration from the Babylonish Captivity, had entirely ceased under the second Temple, for three centuries at least before the birth of Christ. But there succeeded to it, as all the Jewish writers unanimously testify, an *oracular voice from heaven*, which was given occasionally 'to the leading Rabbis or Teachers of the Law, to direct them how to act or speak on particular emergencies.' It is said to have been accompanied generally with a kind of thunder, out of which

it issued in a clear and articulate manner, and thence derived its name of *Bath-Kol*, that is, the 'daughter-voice,' or 'daughter of a voice.' 'The Bath-Kol,' says the learned Lightfoot (*Works*, vol ii. p. 128, *ad St. Matthew*, iii. 17) was this: *when a voice or thunder came out of heaven, another voice came out of it.*" (MIDDLETON, p. 220.)

143. *Voice of the Devil or of Devilish Elves.* See note to L. 124, *ante*.

144 *seqq.* And hence th' Apostle, &c. "From which he draws this inference, which I would recommend to the special consideration of this eminent Prelate: 'Hence,' adds he, 'the Apostle Peter saith with good reason, that the word of Prophecy was surer than a voice from heaven.'" (MIDDLETON, p. 223.)

So, introduce an Hebrew, foreign Term,  
Take all for true that quoted Lines affirm, 150  
And then assume that the Apostle too  
Just thought and argued as these Critics do,—  
And we may prove, from *Peter's* own Design,  
That GOD the Father's Voice was not Divine !

But should the Prelate think it mere Grimace  
To talk of Fable in *St. Peter's* Case,  
Whose Words exclude it and expressly speak  
Of Heav'nly Truth,—how frivolous and weak  
In his more sober and sedate Esteem  
Must all this Patchwork Erudition seem ! 160  
How will a Christian Bishop, too, conceive  
Of what the Doctor's Margins interweave  
Touching that Scripture, where our Saviour pray'd,  
And Heav'n the glorifying Answer made ?  
While from his Note, Sir, nothing can be learn'd  
But casual Thunder or *Bath-Kol* concern'd.

Will he not ask : "Is it this Author's Aim  
Under his *Bath-Kol* Figments to disclaim  
All Faith in Voices of an heav'nly Kind ?  
Is that the Purpose of his doubting Mind ? 170

160. His patch-work.—B.

162, 163. *What the Doctor's Margins interweave*

*Touching that Scripture, where, &c.*  
In a note to the note giving the reference to Lightfoot's account of the *Bath-Kol* cited above (note to L. 141) Middleton writes : "Thus, when *Jesus*, a little before his death, was addressing himself to the Father, in the midst of his disciples and people of *Jerusalem*, and saying : 'Father, save me from this hour ; Father, glorify thy name : ' there came a voice from

heaven saying : 'I have both glorified it and will glorify it again.' Upon which 'the People that stood by and heard it, said that it thundered ; others said that an Angel spake to him.' (*St. John*, xii. 28-7.) That is, part of the company believed it to be nothing more than an accidental clap of thunder ; while others took it to be the *Bath-Kol*, or the voice of God or of an Angel, which was accompanied always with thunder." (MIDDLETON, p. 220, note.)

E E



You see, th' Apostle is extremely clear  
 That such a Voice himself did really hear ;  
 He also had such wondrous Proofs beside,  
 That Voice concurrent cannot be denied.  
 And, when our LORD had been baptis'd, there came  
 A Voice from Heav'n in Words the very same.  
 Here, in his answer'd Prayer,—tho' by Mistake  
 Some said "it thunder'd," some "an Angel spake,"—  
 We have His own Authority Divine :  
 "This Voice," said He, "came for your Sakes, not Mine." 180

Would not the Bishop rightly thus oppose  
 Plain Scripture Facts to Learning's empty Shows ?  
 What signifies it then upon the whole  
 How poor blind Jews have talk'd about *Bath-Kol* ;  
 What jarring Critics of a later Day  
 Or *Lightfoot*, here thrice ridicul'd, may say,  
 Or *Middleton* himself, whose pious Care  
 For giftless Churches prompts him to compare  
 Voices from Heav'n in his assuming Page  
 To Miracles beyond th' Apostles Age, 190  
 Taking for granted without more ado  
 His wild Hypothesis about *them* too.

Prodigious Effort ! See obstructed quite  
 The Gospel Promise and the Christian Right ;

174. *Voice concurrent.* The coming of  
 a Voice at that time.

175. *When our LORD had been baptis'd.*  
 See *St. Matthew*, iii. 16-17.

187 *seqq.* MIDDLETON *himself*, &c.  
 "The reality of this Oracular voice is at-  
 tested, as I have said, by the Jewish  
 writers, after the cessation of Prophecy, in  
 the same positive manner, as the miracu-  
 lous gift of the Christian Church, by the  
 primitive Fathers, after the days of the  
 Apostles; and innumerable instances of

it are particularly recorded by the same  
 writers." (MIDDLETON, p. 222.)

188. *Giftless Churches.* Churches with-  
 out the gift or *χάρισμα* of prophecy. Cf.  
*Romans*, xii. 6: "Having then gifts dif-  
 fering according to the grace that is given  
 to us: whether prophecy, let us prophesy  
 according to the proportion of faith."

189. *His assuming Page.* His book  
 full of assumptions.

192. *About THEM too.* About post-  
 Apostolic miracles too.

Cut off at once miraculous Supply ;  
 All Healing ceases, when Apostles die ;  
 No Tongue inspir'd, no Demon dispossess,—  
 With them the working Spirit went to rest ;  
 Forgot the Prophecies that *Christ* had made,  
 And left Believers without *signal* Aid. 200  
 Altho' no Limit in what Scripture saith  
 Be put to Miracles but want of Faith ;  
 Altho', without one, foolish to pretend  
 To know their Nature or to fix their End :  
 Yet, if a daring Genius advertise  
 That all but Scripture Miracles are Lies,  
 What Crowds embrace the new Belief and Hope !  
 It suits their Taste,—and saves them from the *Pope*.  
 Others contend that wond'rous Gifts survive  
 The first three Centuries, or four, or five. 210

195. *Miraculous Supply.* The supply of miracles. remove ; and nothing shall be impossible unto you.”
196. *When Apostles die.* When the last of the Apostles dies. 203. *Without one.* Since no such limit has been fixed.
197. *Dispossess.* Driven out, exorcised. 209. *Others contend.* “Miracles, as the writers of that day expressed themselves, had plainly ceased ; but when and where did they cease? Did the extraordinary powers confided by Christ to his Church expire with the Apostles? Did they continue over the palmy days of the first three centuries? Did they last through the fourth, or even into the fifth, age? All those opinions had been held by Anglican divines of reputation, whilst the ingenious Whiston had hit upon the alternative doctrine that the supernatural powers were withdrawn from the Church A.D. 381, on account of the Athanasian heresy ; but that from that time the Devil had supplied an efficient substitute.” (LESLIE STEPHEN, *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (second edn., 1881), i. 265.)
198. *With them.* With the Apostles.
199. *Forgot the Prophecies that Christ had made.* See *St. Mark*, xvi. 17–18: “And these signs shall follow them that believe ; In my name shall they cast out devils ; they shall speak with new tongues ; they shall take up serpents ; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them ; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover.”
200. *And left Believers without SIGNAL Aid.* And believers left without the aid of signs. (See the preceding note.)
201. *In what Scripture saith.* See *St. Matthew*, xvii. 20 : “Verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall

Then, Sir, they close their jealous, partial View  
 And grudge Diviner Influence Its Due ;  
 Take different Stations in the *Doctor's* Track,  
 Blaming and backing his more close Attack :  
 All Miracles beyond his *earlier* Fence  
 Are Want of Honesty or Want of Sense ;  
 All Faith in Bishops, Confessors and Saints  
 Who witness Facts, a Christian Priest recants :  
 They must,—he *says* they must,—be Fables all  
 That pass the Bounds of his gigantic Wall. 220

Such strange Delusion if a Man embrace,  
 Without some Voice, some Miracle of Grace,  
 It is in vain to Reas'ners of the Cast  
 To urge the Evidence of Ages past.  
 With Minds resolv'd to disbelieve or doubt  
 Small is the Force of History throughout.  
 Freedom of Thought exerted and of Will,  
 To claim the Privilege of judging ill,  
 Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs cannot move,  
 Nor Holy Church throughout the World disprove. 230

But, to return.—How does his first Assault  
 On Miracles defend a second Fault ;  
 Or Rabbis, or rabbinical Divines,  
 Help *Lightfoot's* Comment or his own Designs ?  
*Lightfoot*, without detracting from his Skill,  
 Wrote in this Instance with a careless Quill ;  
 Such Inf'rence else had never been annex.

214. *Blaming and backing.* Objecting *Sense.* Probably an unconscious reminiscence of :—

215. *Beyond his EARLIER Fence.* Beyond the earlier limit of time assumed by him. " Want of decency is want of sense."

228. *To claim.* Merely in order to claim.

230. *Or Rabbis, &c.* See note to l. 141,

216. *Are Want of Honesty or Want of* *anti.*

He must have seen that the Apostle's Text  
 Could not with Reason either good or great  
 Compare the *Prophets* with a *dev'lish Cheat*. 240  
 This learnèd Writer, Sir, did not attend  
 To *Peter's* Meaning, or not apprehend ;  
 Or, if Excuse may for his Haste atone,  
 He did not well, perhaps, express his own.

Since by his present Citer here you see  
 How quite forgetful learnèd Men may be ;  
 For, after all the Scraps he had amass'd  
 And this triumphant Inference at last,  
 "The Text," he says, "had in *St. Peter's* Views  
 "No Ref'rence to himself, but to the Jews ;"— 250  
 Not, in his Haste, aware that what he said  
 Knock'd all the *Bath-Kol* Pedantry o' th' Head ;  
 That what he thought his borrow'd Pages won,  
 His own gave up, as soon as he had done.  
 For, if *St. Peter's* Words do *not* imply

238. *The Apostle's Text.* See the passage prefixed to this poem.

249, 250. "*The Text*," he says, "*had in ST. PETER'S Views*

*No Ref'rence to himself, but to the Jews.*"

"Yet *St. Peter's* words, after all, as they are expounded by the free-thinking author above-mentioned, do not necessarily imply him to mean that Prophecy was a surer argument to himself than the voice from heaven, which he had heard, but to the Jewish converts in general, who did not hear that voice, but received it only from the reports of others. It was not his view in this Epistle, to declare what sort of arguments were the most convincing to himself, but to propose such as were most worthy of the attention of those to whom he was writing, and most effectual to keep

them stedfast in the faith, against the impressions of false teachers, who were labouring to seduce them . . . When *St. Peter* therefore says, 'We have a more sure word of Prophecy,' the occasion of his words obliges us to interpret them as spoken, not with any particular reference to himself, but to the whole body of the Jewish Converts, to whose attention he recommends them ; and the constant use and analogy of all language will justify such an interpretation." (MIDDLETON, p. 224.) Cf. in Collins' *Discourse*, part i. section xi., "An answer to an objection, that the Allegorical Reasonings of the Apostles were not designed for absolute Proofs of Christianity, but for proofs *ad hominem* to the Jews, who were accustomed to that way of reasoning.'

What he himself was most persuaded by,  
 But only show what Arguments were fit  
 For their Attention, Sir, to whom he writ,—  
 The Bishop's Reas'ning, which he strives to cloud,  
 Is not unanswer'd only, but allow'd ; 260  
 The very Thing pretended to be shown  
 Is by his own Confession overthrown.

Do but observe the Point in Question, Sir,  
 On which the Doctor makes this learned Stir :  
 How he, who talks of "its perpetual Change  
 "*By others*," takes the Liberty to range.  
 When a Comparison was judg'd absurd,  
 "*Peter* could make no other," was the Word ;  
 Then, by a Contradiction plain and flat,  
 "*Peter's Comparison could not be that ;*" 270  
 And then, again : "supposing that it could ;"—  
 Thus he attempts to make the Matter good.

"Let *Peter* be himself assur'd," says he,  
 "As fully as 'twas possible to be  
 "Of ev'ry Circumstance that pass'd, he might  
 "Have still preferr'd the old prophetic Light.  
 "This was a standing Evidence, and lay  
 "Open to cool, delib'rate Reason's Sway,—  
 "A firmer Argument that brought along

265, 266. "*Its Perpetual Change  
 By others.*"

"And thus the Apostle's sense, as it is expounded by the Author" (Collins, against whom Sherlock wrote), "is dear and consistent, nor liable to any exception, but what flows from that perplexity in which his Lordship has involved it by his use of equivocal terms and perpetual change of the point in question." (MIDDLETON, p. 230.)

273 *seqq.* "*Let Peter be himself assur'd,*"

&c. "Let *Peter* be as perfectly assured as we can suppose him to be of every circumstance which passed in the Mount, he might still take Prophecy, considered as a standing evidence, always lying open to the cool and deliberate examination of reason, to be a firmer argument on the whole, and to carry a more permanent conviction with it to the sober senses of men, than the vision with which he here compares it." (MIDDLETON, p. 225.)

"Conviction, Sir, more permanent and strong 280  
 "To Men of sober Senses and sedate,  
 "Than could the Vision which his Words relate."  
 Set the perplext Equivocation by  
 That's here involv'd, how easy the Reply  
 To Reasons void, if we distinguish right  
 Betwixt a *real* and *reported* Sight!  
 For *be* the Proof that Prophecies procure  
 More, to the *Jews*, comparatively sure,  
 As oft the Text is commented upon  
 (Thro' a Mistake, as will appear anon),— 290  
 Yet *his* Conviction vacates the Pretence  
 Of Reason, Argument, and sober Sense;  
 Because the Prophets, here to be compar'd  
 As Evidences of what God declar'd,  
 Could but originally *hear* and *see*,  
 And be as fully satisfied as he.

The Use of Reason has, I apprehend,  
 When full Assurance is attain'd, an End.  
 When we are certain that we see and hear,  
 And ev'ry Circumstance is plain and clear, 300  
 What can Examination teach or learn?  
 By what Criterion, Sir, shall we discern,  
 When Reason comes to be so deadly cool,  
 The sage Deliberator from the Fool?

283. *The perplext Equivocation.* Involved, I suppose, in half-contemptuously describing as "a vision" the circumstances of which Peter was perfectly assured.

285. *To Reasons void.* To a futile argument.

289. *As oft the Text is commented upon.* For instance by Dr. Whitby, cited by MIDDLETON, p. 208, who says: "The word of Prophecy is called by *St. Peter*

more sure than the testimony of what he had heard in the Mount: which was not so certain and convincing to the Jews as the Record of their own Prophets: whence the Apostles, both in disputing with unbelieving Jews, and writing to the believers among them, confirm their doctrines from the writings of the Old Testament."

290. *As will appear anon.* Cf. ll. 647 *seqq.*, *infra*.

Conceive *St. Peter*, if you can, entic'd—  
 Eye-Witness of the *Majesty of Christ* ;  
 Of what the *Father* in the Mount had done  
 By showing forth the *Glory* of the *Son*,—  
 To disbelieve his Senses, and to pore  
 Some ancient standing Evidences o'er ; 310  
 To see if that which, on the holy Spot,  
 He saw and heard, was seen and heard, or not :—  
 Would such a cool deliberating Plan  
 Have made him pass for a more sober Man ?  
 If so, then *Middleton* has hit the White ;  
*Sherlock*, if not, is thus far in the right,  
 And well may say that no Man in his Wits  
 Could be attack'd by such cold reas'ning Fits.

But thus the frigid Argument is brought,  
 Why *Peter* might in full-persuaded Thought 320  
 Prefer Predictions in the ancient Law  
 To what himself most surely heard and saw :  
 "For, after all the full convincing Scene

305 *seqq.* *Conceive* ST. PETER, &c. The following lines might seem to attach too much significance to the fact that in the words of the text "*We have* a more sure word of prophecy," St. Peter speaks in the first person (cf. SHERLOCK, p. 13). But Middleton's *argumentum ad hominem* which follows (ll. 319 *seqq.*) more than justifies Byrom's retort, and, St. Peter's personality being taken into account, illustrates the want of insight into character not unfrequently exhibited by controversialists of the Middletonian type.

317. *And well may say.* See note to l. 106, *ante*.

323 *seqq.* "*For, after all,*" &c. "*For,* after all the conviction which he himself had received from it, we know that his

faith was still so infirm as to betray him into a shameful denial of his Master, whom he had seen so wonderfully glorified." (MIDDLETON, pp. 225-6.) Middleton goes on to say: "We know on the other hand, that after our Lord's Ascension, when his faith was more fully confirmed and his understanding enlightened by the mission of the Holy Ghost, the chief argument which he applied in all his Sermons, to evince the truth of the Gospel, was this 'more sure word of Prophecy,' as he calls it; from which he demonstrated to the Jews, how the character, doctrine and mission of Jesus were foretold and described 'by the mouths of all their Prophets.'" It was, then, after all, a miracle of miracles which established his own faith.

"Which he had witness'd, how did he demean?—  
 "With Faith infirm, he shamefully denied  
 "His Master, seen so Greatly Glorified."

Yes, so he did ; and gave an humbling Stroke  
 To human Confidence in Reason's Cloak,—  
 Enough to lay all Syllogising Trust  
 In bare Conclusions only in the Dust ; 330  
 An ample Proof that in a trying Hour  
 Ev'n Demonstration loses all its Pow'r ;  
 That without Grace and God's Assisting Hand  
 In Time of Need no Evidence can stand.

Suppose a Person of the clearest Head,  
 In Logic Arts well grounded and well read,—  
 If, with a selfish Love to Truth alone,  
 He arm himself with Weapons all his own,  
 When a Temptation comes, alas! how soon  
 The valiant Reas'ner turns a mere Poltroon ! 340

*Peter*, tho' void of Learning and of Art,  
 Had a courageous, had an honest Heart ;  
 Had natural Abilities beyond  
 All those of which the Critics are so fond ;  
 Had hidden Qualities beyond their Ken :  
 They fish for Words ; he was to fish for Men.  
 His Faith in outward Evidence was such  
 That *Peter* trusted to himself too much.  
 When his Denial plainly was foretold,  
 What should have humbled made him grow more bold: 350

324. *How did he demean?* Demean himself.

346. *He was to fish for Men.* "And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men." (See *St. Mark*, i. 17.)

347, 348. *His Faith in Outward Evidence was such*

*That PETER trusted to himself too much.* This is a paradox equally felicitous and true. Cf. *St. Matthew*, xiv. 28-30: "And Peter answered and said, Lord, if it be



"Tho' all should be offended, yet not I!  
 "Not Death itself shall tempt me to deny!"

We see in him, Sir, what the utmost Height  
 Of boasted Reason, Evidence and Light,  
 Of Courage, Honesty and even *Love*  
 Could do without Assistance from Above.  
 It could to humbler Thoughts resist the Call;  
 It proudly could prefer itself to all;  
 It could, in short, upon Conclusions true  
 Do all that Numbers upon false ones do,— 360  
 Rest on itself, be confident and bounce;  
 And, when the Call to Suff'ring came,—renounce.

As human Resolution, Courage, Skill.  
 Conviction, Evidence, or what you will,  
 Can in their Nature only reach so far  
 As Things are subject to an human Bar,—  
 All these, tho' actuating *Peter's* Zeal,  
 To Christian Doctrine could not set the Seal.  
 God-like Humility, the Sacred Root  
 Whence ev'ry Virtue branches into Fruit, 370  
 Lays the Foundation of the Christian Life,  
 As Reason governs that of human Strife.  
 And I appeal, Sir, setting Grace aside,  
 How oft is human Reason human Pride,

thou, bid me come unto thee on the water.  
 And he said, Come. And when Peter was  
 come down out of the ship, he walked on  
 the water, to go to Jesus. But when he  
 saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid,"  
 &c.

351. "*Tho' all should be offended, yet  
 not I!*" "But Peter said unto him, Al-  
 though all shall be offended, yet *will* not  
 I." (*St. Mark*, xiv. 29.)

352. "*Not death itself shall tempt me to  
 deny.*" "But he spake the more vehe-

mently, If I should die with thee, I will not  
 deny thee in any wise." (*Ib.*, v. 31.)

362. *Renounce.* Deny God; refuse to  
 meet His call.

369. *God-like Humility.* The same  
 lesson is deduced, with greater breadth,  
 from St. Peter's denial of his Master, in  
 the lines bearing this title and printed after  
 the present piece. Cf. also the lines on  
*Humility*, ante, p. 63. But Byrom's verse

abounds in tributes to this virtue of virtues.  
 373. *I appeal.* I protest.

Human Desire of Victory or Fame  
 A *Babel* tow'ring to procure a Name,  
 A Self-assurance, an untutor'd Boast,  
 That can but form Intention, at the most ;  
 Which, tho' directed right, must humbly ask  
 Divine Assistance to perform its Task !

380

This *Peter* fail'd in, and a Servant-maid  
 Made him, with all his bold Resolves, afraid ;  
 With all his sure Convictions, he began  
 To curse and swear, and "did not know the Man."  
 Till, for a Lesson wond'rously addrest  
 To sink full deep into his humble Breast,  
 The Cock pronounc'd by an awakening Crow  
*Peter* the Man whom *Peter* "did not know."

But how, Sir, did his coward Speech betray  
 Doubt of his Maker's Glorious Display ?  
 By what Account in Hist'ry are we taught  
 That e'er it came into its frightened Thought ?  
 Or, since 'tis certain that he did deny,  
 What *Prophecy* did he "*prefer*" thereby ?  
 'Tis, then, a cold Absurdity to draw  
 From *Peter's* Weakness this pretended Flaw ;  
 To hint Delusion in the God-like Sight,  
 Because the Man was put into a Fright.

390

381. In this fail'd Peter.—B.

376. A *BABEL* tow'ring to procure a Name. "And they said, Go to, let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven ; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." (*Gen.*, xi. 4.)

"But he began to curse and swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak." (*St. Mark*, xiv. 71.)

377. An untutor'd Boast. An idle vaunt, as yet untested by experience.

388. *PETER the Man*, &c. This turn, again, is both original and striking.

383, 384. He began

To curse and swear, &c.

397, 398. To hint Delusion in the god-like Sight,

Because the Man was put into a Fright. "It is no offence, surely, either to reason or religion to imagine, that this wonderful apparition and heavenly voice might be

If from Distrust of Evidence his Fears,  
 From whence his bitter penitential Tears? 400  
 Whence was it that the *Holy Pris'ner* shook  
 The Soul of *Peter*, with One Gracious Look?  
 No *Glory* then to credit or distrust;  
 And yet th' Apostle's Penitence was just,  
 And he himself but Proof, upon the whole,  
 That Grace alone can fortify a Soul.

'Tis urg'd that "on the other Hand we find,  
 "With Faith confirm'd and with enlighten'd Mind  
 "After the Mission of the Holy Ghost,  
 "That Argument which he applied the most 410  
 "Was what he calls" (for so the Doctor too  
 Takes here a vulgar Error to be true),  
 "This "*more sure Word of Prophecy*," the chief  
 "Of all his Motives to enforce Belief;  
 "From whence he prov'd that *Jesus* was of old  
 "Describ'd by all the Prophets, and foretold."

*Peter's* Condition, Sir, is that of all  
 Who from the Heart obey the Christian Call.  
 They by Experience have the triple Sight  
 Of Weakness, Penitence, and heav'nly Light. 420  
 While others wrangle about outward Show,  
 Nature and Grace and Miracle, they *know*.

accompanied with such circumstances as would naturally leave some doubt and perplexity on the mind concerning the precise manner and nature of the whole transaction. For *Peter*, as we read, was in such a fright and amazement at what he saw and heard, that he 'knew not what he said;' and both he and the two other Apostles then with him, *James* and *John*, were so greatly terrified, that 'they fell upon their faces to the ground, and durst not so much as look up,' till *Jesus*, when the vision was over, came to raise and encourage them." (MIDDLETON, p. 225.)

402. *With One Gracious LOOK*. "And the Lord turned, and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord," &c. (*St. Luke*, xxii. 61.)

406 *seqq.* 'Tis urg'd that "on the other Hand," &c. See the passage cited from Middleton in the latter part of the note to l. 323, *ante*.

Tho' not inspir'd like *Peter* and th' Eleven,  
Or struck like *walking Paul* by Voice from Heav'n,  
They meet, what others foolishly evade,  
The real Mission of celestial Aid ;  
Of which, howe'er the *Tokens* are perceiv'd,  
No faithful Soul can ever be bereav'd.

What does the Share of it that *Peter* had  
To all the Doctor's forc'd Refinements add ? 430  
Might not the Bishop justly give him back  
Some Compliments bestow'd in his Attack ?  
Such as the "nothing but an empty Strain  
"Of Rhet'ric, insignificant, and vain ;"—  
The "choosing not to see, of any Theme,"  
"More than may suit his pre-adopted Scheme ;—  
The "passing over what he should confute,  
With Matters foreign to the main Dispute ;"—  
And such-like Flow'rs, upon his Pages thrown,  
That full as well become the Doctor's own. 440

424. *Like WALKING Paul.* An odd epithet, intended to convey the "as he journeyed" of *Acts*, ix. 3.

433 *seqq.* The "*nothing but an empty Strain*," &c. "Yet all this pomp of words ; this solemn appeal to the whole College of the Apostles and Evangelists, is nothing else but an empty strain of rhetoric, without any argument or significance in it whatsoever." (MIDDLETON, p. 228.)

435 *seqq.* The "*choosing not to see*," &c. ". . . One would be apt to suspect, that his Lordship never chooses to see more of any subject than what may serve that particular hypothesis which he comes prepared to support." (*Ib.*, p. 211.)

347 *seqq.* The "*passing over*," &c. "It

is this alone which the nature of the subject required him to confute, and what he had undertaken to confute ; but instead he changes the question upon us, and when we were expecting reasons, &c. . . Which, as it is here applied to the confutation of that Author, is wholly fallacious and sophistical, without either force or sense in it." (*Ib.*, p. 214.)

439. *And such-like Flow'rs.* I will only add one, not remarkably becoming from a clergyman to a Bishop : "He forgot surely, that he was now discoursing from the Press, and not from the Pulpit : for though *Ipse dixit*s may carry authority with them, where nobody can contradict, yet they will never pass for arguments, where speech and debate are free." (*Ib.*, p. 211.)

For has the Bishop in his Book denied  
 That Prophecy was properly applied ?  
 No ; but that *Peter* did a Thing so odd  
 As to prefer it to the Voice of God.  
*This* was the Point requir'd to be explain'd  
 In Contradiction to what he maintain'd ;  
 That which the Doctor undertook to clear,  
 And make the Pref'rence of the Saint appear.  
 But while we look'd what Reasons he would bring  
 For so incomprehensible a Thing 450  
 As common Sense must reckon an Appeal  
 From what th' Almighty should Himself reveal,—  
 Shifting the Circumstances, Time and Place,  
 In short the Question, to another Case,  
 He tell us, not of Prophecy preferr'd  
 To Voice from Heav'n, which he had just averr'd,  
 But, how the Saint applied in his Discourse  
 Prophetic Words to give the Gospel Force ;  
 How *Peter* argued from them, he relates,  
 And proves full well—what Nobody debates. 460

How gravely, Sir, from Fallacy so crude,  
 He prompts th' amused Reader to conclude

456. *Which he had thus averr'd.* "He might still take Prophecy . . . to be a firmer argument on the whole . . . than the vision with which he here compares it." (*Ib.*, p. 225 ; and cf. the naked statement, p. 209.)

457, 458. *But, how the Saint applied in his Discourse*

*Prophetic Words to give the Gospel Force.* ". . . the chief argument, which he applied in all his Sermons, to evince the truth of the Gospel, was 'this more sure word of Prophecy,' as he calls it." (MIDDLETON, p. 226 ; and cf. the incidental

assertion, p. 238, that "all the use which is made by the Apostle of the 'word of Prophecy' in both the *Epistles*, is applied by him to the same general purpose, of confirming the whole Christian doctrine.")

462. *Amused.* Diverted from the true issue. Cf. the quotation in Archbishop Trench's *Select Glossary*, 3rd ed., 1865, p. 5, from Sir W. Temple's *Observations on the United Provinces*: "A siege of Mæstricht or Wesel (so garrisoned and resolutely defended) might not only have amused, but endangered the French armies."

"That any Man, especially a Jew,  
(As *Peter* was) might think the Pref'rence due ;  
And what himself had heard th' Almighty speak  
Might be esteemed comparatively weak !"

Under the Millstone oft the struggling Page  
Bestirs itself, but cannot disengage.

"At all Events resolving to confute,"

(To use his Logic) "or at least dispute,

470

"Its Author shows great Spirit and great Art,

"And well performs the contradicting Part."

But in his subsequent Remarks we find

How lamely Confutation limps behind.

Fully resolv'd, and singly, to maintain

A Paradox so quite against the Grain,

The learnèd Antithaumatist must choose

"Not to instruct his Reader, but amuse ;"

Whene'er he touches a prophetic Clause,

"Not to illústrate, but perplex the Cause ;"

480

To speak some Truth that shows the favour'd Side,

And that which gives the whole Connexion hide.

463 *seqq.* "*That any Man,*" &c. "I might now leave it to the reader to judge, whether, in contradiction to what the Bishop maintains, a man in his wits, and especially a Jew, might not think Prophecy a stronger argument in general than a voice from heaven, which he himself had heard." (MIDDLETON, p. 226.)

469 *seqq.* "*At all Events,*" &c. "This was the ground of his Lordship's resolution to confute, or, at all events, to contradict them" [the words of the author of *The Grounds and Reasons*, &c., asserting that St. Peter preferred the argument from prophecy to that from the miraculous attes-

tation witnessed by himself] ; "which last part he has performed with great spirit ; but how far he has succeeded in the first, will be seen from the following remarks." (*Ib.*, p. 207.)

477. *Antithaumatist.* Opponent of the authority of miracles.

478 *seqq.* "*Not to instruct,*" &c. "... I ... found this capital work of his Lordship to be just such as I expected ... proper rather to perplex than to illustrate the notion of Prophecy ; and to amuse rather than instruct an inquisitive reader." (*Ib.*, p. 189.)

Why else a total Silence on the Head  
 Of *Miracles* in what *St. Peter* said ?  
 How could recited *Prophecies* alone  
 Prove to the *Jews* that *Jesus* was foreshown,  
 Had not there been that other previous Proof  
 To ev'ry thoughtful *Jew* in His Behoof ;  
 Had not such wond'rous Facts struck up the Light,  
 That show'd their Application to be right ? 490

Trace the Quotations, Sir, that *Peter* made,  
 "And see their Force impartially display'd ;  
 "See what Solution stated Fact supplies  
 "Without contriv'd Evasion or Disguise !"

The first Occasion which th' Apostle took  
 To cite a Passage from a Prophet's Book,  
 Was at that public, wonderful Event,  
 Upon the Blessèd Spirit's first Descent.  
 The faithful Flock that met with one Accord  
 To wait the Gifts of their Ascended Lord, 500  
 Soon as the Tokens of His Presence came,  
 The Sound Celestial and the Sacred Flame,  
 Began to speak, with holy Ardour fir'd,  
 In various Hymns by Heav'n Itself inspir'd.  
 This joyful Voice of a Diviner Laud  
 Was spread thro' all *Jerusalem* abroad ;  
 And pious Jews from ev'ry distant Clime,  
 Residing there that providential Time,

487. Had there not been.—B.

492. "*And see their Force,*" &c. "On naturally suggest to me." (MIDDLETON, which occasion, instead of contriving any p. 292, referring to his *Free Enquiry*, evasive expedients or fanciful systems, I published in 1748.)

I thought it my duty to examine seriously 495. *The first Occasion.* See *Acts*, and impartially, what solution of them the chap. ii.

subject itself, when fairly stated, would 508. *Residing there that providential* supply ; and to embrace that opinion *Time.* Providentially residing there at which the evidence of allowed facts would that time.

Devout Epitome of all Mankind,  
Were drawn to witness that which God design'd. 510  
His Wondrous Works as *Galileans* sung,  
All understood the Spirit-utter'd Tongue ;  
Of Language, then, was no *Confusion* known :  
Each heard this *one*, and heard it as *his own*.  
God gave the Word Himself, and all the good  
Shar'd in the promis'd Gift, and understood ;  
Tho' then astonish'd at the wond'rous Theme,  
Prepar'd to spread it to the World's Extreme.

Others, insensible of Grace Divine,  
Mock'd at its Influence, and talk'd of Wine : 520  
Themselves intoxicated with that Pride  
By which the deaf in Spirit still deride.  
'Twas then that *Peter*, standing up to show  
Th' absurd Reproach, gave all of them to know  
That what these Mockers call'd a drunken Fit  
Was God's Performance of what *Joel* writ  
Of Days then dawning, when He would impart  
His Gospel Gifts to ev'ry faithful Heart ;  
Pour out His Heav'nly Spirit, and refresh  
Not single Nations only, but "all Flesh ;" 530  
All should partake that would of richer Grace,  
Now fully purchas'd for the human Race.

530. Not only single nations.—B.

509. *Devout Epitome of all Mankind.* *Four Epistles* upon the Miracle at the  
"And there were dwelling at Jerusalem Feast of Pentecost, *infra*, in favour of  
Jews, devout men, out of every nation Jacob Böhme's view that "all languages  
under heaven." (*Acts*, ii. 5.) were spoken by Peter in one." (See *Ep.*

511. *His Wondrous Works as Galileans* i. 29.)  
*sung.* When Galileans &c.—"And they 520. *Talked of Wine.* "Others mock-  
were all amazed, and marvelled, saying ing said, These men are full of new wine."  
one to another, Behold, are not all these (*Ib.*, v. 13.)  
which speak Galileans?" (*Ib.*, v. 7.)

514. *Each heard this ONE, and heard it* 526. *Of what JOEL writ.* "And it shall  
*as his OWN.* Cf. the argument of the come to pass afterward, *that* I will pour  
out my spirit upon all flesh." (*Joel*, ii. 28.)

G G



For this was what *St. Peter* then, inspir'd,  
 Went on to show, and Argument requir'd.  
 The Jews all knew, *Messiah* was to come ;  
 That this of all Prediction gave the Sum ;—  
 The Question was, if it had been fulfill'd  
 In *Jesus*, Whom their wicked Hands had kill'd ?

Now, to prove this, th' Apostle *first* applies  
 The *Miracles* perform'd before their Eyes ; 540  
 God's Approbation of Him, he defines,  
 Was manifest by *Wonders* and by *Signs*  
 Done in the midst of them.—See here the Ground  
 Prepar'd, before he offer'd to expound  
 By Arguments of such immediate Force,  
 So plain, so striking, that they must, of Course,  
 Make *secondly* to such as should take Heed,  
 The Word of Prophecy more sure indeed.

And *then* he shews how the prophetic Word  
 With its exact Accomplishment concurr'd : 550  
 "What *David* had prophetically said  
 JESUS fulfill'd in rising from the Dead ;  
 Whereof we all are Witnesses."—Here lay  
 The strength of all that any Words could say ;  
 When Numbers present could the *Fact* attest,  
 Thousands of Souls th' *Accomplish'd Word* confess'd,  
 That This was He, the Lord, the Holy One,  
 Whom *David* fix'd his Heart and Hopes upon,  
 And so describ'd as only could agree  
 To Him Whose "Flesh should no Corruption see." 560  
 His Resurrection, you perceive, it was  
 That show'd the Prophet's Word now come to pass ;

560. With Him.—B.

560. Whose "*Flesh should no Corruption* Holy One to see corruption." (*Acts*, ii. see." "Neither wilt thou suffer thine 27 ; cf. *Psalms*, xvi. 10.)

That made th' Apostle's Intimation clear :  
 " He shed forth this which we now see and hear."

Again ; when *Peter* had restor'd the lame  
 To perfect Soundness in our Saviour's Name,  
 He told the wond'ring Throng that they had slain  
 The Prince of Life Whom God had rais'd again.  
 "Whereof we are the Witnesses," says he ;  
 Then shows how all the *Prophecies* agree : 570  
 "All have successively foretold these Days,  
 And mark'd the *Prophet* whom the Lord should raise."

So, when the Priests and Sadducees, aggriev'd  
 That such increasing Multitudes believ'd,  
 Ask'd by what Pow'r he acted, *Peter* said :  
 "By that of JESUS, risen from the Dead ;  
 By Him this healing Miracle is wrought ;"  
 Then quotes : "The Stone which ye have set at naught,  
 On this, rejected by the Builders' Hands,  
 As a sure Basis all Salvation stands." 580  
 No Priest was then so impotently skill'd  
 As to suggest the Passage unfulfill'd ;  
 All by the wond'rous Cure were overcome ;  
 The living Proof was there, and struck them dumb.

In vain a Council then, as well as now,  
 To silence Miracles or disavow :

564. *He shed forth this which we now see and hear.* "He hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." (*Acts*, ii. 33.)

567. *He told the wond'ring Throng.* "[Ye] killed the Prince of life, whom God hath raised from the dead ; whereof we are witnesses." (*Acts*, iii. 15.)

571 *seqq.* *All have successively foretold.* "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren . . . Yea, and all the prophets from Samuel, and

those that follow after, as many as have spoken, have likewise foretold of these days." (*Acts*, iii. 22 and 24.)

573 *seqq.* *So, when the Priests and Sadducees, &c.* (See *Acts*, chap. iv.)

578 *seqq.* "*The Stone, which ye have set at naught.*" "This is the stone which was set at naught of your builders, which is become the head of the corner." (See *Acts*, iv. 11 ; cf. *Psalms*, xviii. 22.)

585. *In vain a Council.* Byrom seems to suggest a comparison between the

*Peter* and *John* could neither be deterr'd ;  
 They needs must speak what they had seen and heard.  
 Nor Charge, nor Chains, nor meditated Death  
 Could stop to God's Commands th' obedient Breath ; 590  
 His final Argument still *Peter* brings :  
 " We are His Witnesses of all these Things."

This, you may read, Sir, was the real Path  
 That *Peter* trod in his confirmèd Faith ;  
 That all the Preachers of the Gospel trod,  
 When they explain'd the Oracles of God ;  
 Preach'd what themselves, without a learnèd Strife,  
*Saw, heard, and handled* of the WORD of LIFE,  
 When in their Days so mightily it grew,  
 And wrought such Proofs that Prophecy was true : 600  
 Which, tho' it pointed to the future Scene  
 And oft prefigur'd the *Messiah's* Reign,  
 Yet gave a Light comparatively dim,  
 That ow'd its Shining Certainty to Him.

Thus, Sir,—to come directly to the Text  
 With which the Critics are so much perplex'd ;  
 Whereof the real Meaning, fairly trac'd,  
 Lay heaps of Paper printed on it waste,—  
 Had they adverted that *St. Peter* still  
 From what he saw upon the Holy Hill 610  
 Argues Apostles not to have surmis'd,  
 Or follow'd Fables cunningly devis'd,  
 But to have witness'd only what they knew  
 From their own Sight and Hearing to be true,

authority assumed by the Sanhedrim and  
 that which a Council of the Christian  
 Church might at the present day (according  
 to our doctrine, unwarrantably) assume.

590. *To God's Commands th' obedient  
 Breath.* An inversion.

592. "*We are the Witnesses of all these  
 Things.*" "And we are his witnesses of  
 these things." (*Acts*, v. 32.)

609. *Adverted.* Noticed, observed.

611. *To have surmis'd.* To have merely  
 guessed.

And to have justly gatherèd from thence  
A sure Completion of prophetic Sense ;  
To which the *Jews* did rightly to attend,  
Till they themselves should see it in the End ;—  
Had they consider'd this, they would have found  
Of all their wide Perplexities the Ground ; 620  
Have soon perceiv'd that in the various Brawl  
A *wrong Translation* was the Cause of all.

*Peter* makes no Comparison between  
Prophetic Word and what himself had seen,  
As if he thought the Vision in the Mount  
Less sure to him upon his own Account.  
This is a Stretch by which the Doctor meant  
"Of public Patience, sure, to try th' Extent ;"  
Or (still to copy so polite a Clown)  
"To try how far his *Nonsense* would go down. 630  
"To say the Truth, his Pages indevout  
"Have furnish'd Matter of Offence throughout ;  
"But here, from knowing what the World would bear,  
"Grown without Ceremony quite severe,"  
He would oblige his Readers to admit  
A thing that shocks or plain or critic Wit,—

616. And sure.—A.

636. Shocks a plain.—B.

621. *The various Brawl.* The brawl  
of different tongues.

628 *seqq.* "*Of public Patience,*" &c.  
"But to say the truth, I have never ob-  
served a stronger instance of the public  
patience and blind deference to the au-  
thority of a Great name, than in the case  
of these very Discourses ; which, though in  
all parts greatly exceptionable, and fur-  
nishing matter of offence in every page,  
have yet passed through many Editions  
not only without reproof, but with some

degree even of approbation. And it was  
this Experience perhaps of what the world  
would bear, which made his Lordship  
resolve to withdraw his Preface, and to  
treat us no longer with any Ceremony ;  
having seen that notwithstanding the con-  
sciousness which he had declared of being  
in the wrong, the Public was still disposed  
to think him in the right, and that his  
Nonsense would go down with them, with-  
out giving him the trouble of making an  
Excuse for it." (MIDDLETON, p. 192.)

That dark old Prophecy, in *Peter's* Choice,  
 Was held more sure than God's Immediate Voice.  
 They must admit, or else they must be weak,  
 Something more sure than Truth Itself could speak! 640

Nor does *St. Peter*, as the learnèd gloze,  
 Speaking to Jewish Converts here suppose  
 That *they* would think comparative Distrust  
 Of an Apostle's own Experience just.  
 No true Construction of the Text can guide  
 To such Suspicion, Sir, on either Side.

His Words import directly, if you seek  
 Their genuine meaning of the *vulgate* Greek  
 And mind the previously related Scene,—  
 His Words, I say, most evidently mean : 650  
 "We saw the Glory, heard the Voice, and thus  
 Have the prophetic Word made sure to us ;  
 Which ye do well to follow as a Spark  
 That spreads a Ray through Places that are dark ;  
 Till ye with us enjoy the perfect Light  
 And want no Prophecies to set you right."

An *English* Reader may be led, indeed,  
 To think that, as th' Apostle's Words proceed  
 With "we have also," it was something more,  
 Some surer Proof than what had gone before. 660  
 But "also," tho' without *Italics* read,  
 Is an *Addition* to what *Peter* said.

641. *As the learnèd gloze.* Cf. the note saying that the non-italicised "also" in the *Authorised Version* "is an addition to what

650 *seqq.* *His Words, I say, most evidently mean, &c.* It cannot, I think, be said that the words "*καὶ ἔχοντες*" in v. 19 of the text "evidently" mean : "*and thus have.*" On the other Byrom is right in *Peter* said." I am not sure that the most natural translation would not be one which gave force to the double *καὶ*, thus : "We both heard . . . and have . . ." The *Revised Version* reads : "And we have."

It only shows how our *Translation* fail'd  
And made the Blunder that has since prevail'd;  
Which, tho' sufficiently provok'd to mend,  
The learned still choose rather to defend.

A Writer,—whose freethinking Schemes incite  
The Bishop and the Doctor both to write;  
Who had, it seems in Prophecies a Rule  
First to extol, and then to ridicule,— 670  
Took, Sir, his Stand on this corrupted Place,  
From whence he both might heighten and disgrace.  
One Point the vulgar Error gain'd alone;  
While for the other he employ'd his own.  
Ingenious Authors answer'd him apace,  
But got no Triumph in this knotty Place.  
Good Sense oblig'd them wholly to reject  
*St. Peter's* Pref'rence in his own Respect;  
*Collins* himself th' Absurdity forbore;  
That Height was left for *Middleton* to soar. 680  
But still some other they suppos'd there was,—  
Something that Prophecy must needs surpass.  
What it was not, they easily could see;  
But what it was, scarce two of them agree.  
Intent some kind of Pref'rence to provide,  
Which "also" plainly and "more sure" implied,  
All by an Error, which the simple Thought  
Of const'ring right had rectified, were caught.

667. *A Writer.* As to *Collins' Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion* see *Introductory Note*.

671. *On this corrupted Place.* On this passage, corrupted in the *Authorised Version*.

673, 674. *One point, &c.* The common misunderstanding of the text made only a single point (viz., that prophecy is here asserted to be surer evidence than the per-

sonal attestation of a miracle); to make his other point (viz., I suppose, to prove his view of prophecy) he had to employ his own misrepresentation.

678. *St. PETER's pref'rence in his own Respect.* Cf. note to ll. 249, 250 *ante*.

688. *Of const'ring right.* The old form "to conster," for "to construe," is that used in the old editions of Shakspeare.

In this Mistake the Bishop too has shar'd,  
 Asserting Prophecy indeed compar'd 690  
 And by *St. Peter* to the Voice preferr'd  
 Which he himself upon the Mount had heard.  
 "Yet not," says he, "as that Freethinker meant ;  
 The Words relate but to that One Event  
 That stands upon prophetic Record,  
 To wit, the Glorious Coming of our Lord."

But, one or all, to make a surer Word  
 Than Heav'nly Demonstration is absurd  
 And glaring in the Instance that he chose,  
 Because that Coming, as the Context shows, 700  
 Was of "*such Majesty*" as *Peter* knew  
 That *Christ* was really cloth'd with *in his View*,  
 And therefore could not possibly say "We  
 Have also something surer than *to see* :  
*We were Eye-Witnesses* of what we preach,  
 Yet think *more certain* what the *Prophets* teach."

He contradicts, in splitting on the Shelf  
 Of our Translation, *Peter* and himself :

695. Which stands.—B.

689 *seqq.* In this Mistake the Bishop too has shar'd, &c. "You see now what is the main, the only great point, in this Second Epistle ; it is the coming of Christ in power and glory, to deliver the faithful, and to take vengeance of the ungodly and unbelievers, as foretold by the prophets under both Testaments. . . . Take this key along with you, and see how it will open this so much perplexed passage of Scripture now under consideration. The Apostle's reasoning to the faithful believers is this : 'We have not followed cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the POWER and COMING of our Lord

Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his MAJESTY. For he received from God the Father HONOUR and GLORY, when there came such a voice to him from the excellent glory, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount. We have also a MORE SURE word of prophecy.'" (SHERLOCK, p. 20, *Dissertation* i. ; cf. MIDDLETON, pp. 20 -8.)

695. *Prophetic Record*. (See *Malachi*, iii. 1-2, *et al.*)

707. *On the Shelf*. On the rock.

The Saint,—by such Restriction of his own  
As was by him unthought of and unknown ; 710  
Himself,—who says that *Peter* in this Place,  
Admitting Gospel Truth to be the Case,  
Far from preferring the Prophetic Test,  
Has manifestly said 'twas not the best.

And of all Gospel Truths that you can name  
This “Glorious Coming” is the one great Aim,  
The Sum and Substance with Respect to Man  
Of Heav’nly Purpose since the World began.  
Divine Intention could no more have been  
For *Christ* to suffer, than for *Man* to sin ; 720  
Tho’, since that fatal Accident befell,  
Incarnate Love would save him from a Hell ;  
Whereas His “Glorious Reign” amongst Mankind  
Might from their first Existence be design’d,  
And, since his Suff’ring, Saving Advent past,  
What Sense of Justice can deny the last ?  
“His Reigning Glory,” were the Prophets dumb,  
All Things in Nature cry aloud, “will come.”

Besides, what better does the Text afford,  
To any tolerable Sense restor’d,— 730

714. *Had manifestly said 'twas not the best.* “ . . . We shall find that St. Peter in the text is so far from speaking of the ‘word of prophecy’ as of the best light or evidence to be had for the point in question, whatever it was, that he manifestly speaks of it as not the best, but as a light to be attended to only until a better comes . . .” (SHERLOCK, p. 14.)
721. *That fatal Accident.* The Fall is here called an “accident,” because it was within the power of Adam’s free-will to avoid it.
723. *His “Glorious Reign” among Man-*
- kind.* (See Revelation, xi. 15, et al.)
724. *From their first Existence.* “How dark or obscure soever some part of them” [the ancient prophecies] “might be at the first delivery and for generations afterwards, yet must they in the event conspire and centre in that great end which was always in the view of Providence: ‘Known unto God are all his works from the beginning of the world.’ Acts, xv. 18.” SHERLOCK, p. 67 (*Discourse IV.*)
726. *The last.* The Second Coming.
727. *His Reigning Glory.* The Glory of His Kingdom.

H H



Compare, prefer, or construe how you will,—  
 Than that Divine Appearance on the Hill ;  
 That ascertaining in a Heav'nly Light  
 Our Saviour's Glory by a present Sight ;  
 That *Record* which the *Father* thereupon  
 Gave of His *Son* to *Peter*, *James* and *John*,  
 So full of Proofs that, let what will be chief,  
 Doubt is too near akin to Disbelief ?

The Doctor says, "'tis surely no Offence  
 "To true Religion or to common Sense, 740  
 "To think that, tracing Circumstances out,  
 "Perplext Apostles might be left in Doubt."  
 Yet may a serious Reader think it is  
 From one plain Circumstance, and that is this :—  
 When they descended from the Sacred Place  
 After partaking of this Heav'nly Grace,  
 Our Saviour charg'd them that they should not tell  
 To any Man the Vision that befell,  
 Till He Himself was risen from the Dead.  
 The Vision, then,—if He knew what He said,— 750  
 Was true and real ; while, if you complete  
 The Doctor's Hints of *possible* Deceit,  
 To give his rash Reflexions any Force,  
 Our *Lord* Himself must be deceiv'd, or worse.  
 Such Things would follow ;—but the horrid Train  
 Is too offensive even to explain.

In fine, these Comments which the Learned make  
 On *Peter's* Words, are owing to Mistake ;

743. A serious reader, yet, may.—B.

739 *seqq.* *The Doctor says, &c.* See was "as they came down from the mountain ;" so that there could be no delusion  
 note to L. 37, *ante*.

747. *Our Saviour charg'd them.* This as to the incident. (*St. Matthew*, xvii. 9.)

Those which the Doctor has been pleas'd to frame  
 Upon his whole Behaviour, are the same. 760  
 Nor is more Learning needful in the Case  
 Than to consult the untranslated Place.  
 The Phrase, you'll see, asserts what I assert,  
 And leaves no Critic Room to controvert.  
*Grotius*, whose Paraphrase the Doctor quotes,  
 Gives it this Meaning in his learnèd Notes :  
 "The Word of Prophecy we all allow  
 To be of great Authority, but now  
 With us much greater, who have seen th' Event  
 So aptly correspond with its Intent." 770  
 This paves the Way to a becoming Sense  
 And overthrows our Author's vain Pretence :  
 "Vain Art and Pains employ'd upon the Theme,  
 "To dress up an imaginary Scheme :  
 "Of which, the whole New Testament around,  
 "Nor Foot nor Footstep, Sir, is to be found."

Tradition—tho' of Apostolic Kind,  
 Such as was *Enoch's* Prophecy—you find  
 Contemptuously call'd "I know not what,"  
 Tho' by *St. Jude* so plainly pointed at. 780

765. GROTIUS, whose Paraphrase the Doctor quotes. "And *Grotius* paraphrases the same words, as if the Apostle had said, "The word of Prophecy had always great Authority with us, but now a much greater, after we have seen the events correspond so aptly with the predictions concerning the Messiah." (MIDDLETON, p. 209, citing *Crit. Sacr.*) The "learned notes" are probably the *Annotations in Vetus et Novum Testamentum* (1644). The process by which *Grotius*, who was a theologian began with a deep regard for primitive authority, came to consider unity as essential to the Catholic Church has been admirably explained by Hallam.

773 seqq. "*Vain Art and Pains, &c.*" "I found much art and pains employed to dress up an imaginary scheme, of which I had not discovered the least trace in any of the four Gospels." (MIDDLETON, p. 189.)

779. Contemptuously called "*I know not what.*" "Nor do they" [the Apostles] "refer us, for the evidences of our faith, to I know not what Prophecies of *Enoch*, or *Noah*, but to *Moses* and the Prophets, &c." (MIDDLETON, p. 199.)

780. Tho' by *ST. JUDE* so plainly pointed out. See *Epistle of St. Jude*, v. 14: "And *Enoch* also, the seventh from *Adam*, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints."

Because, if *Jude's* Authority be good,  
 Prophets existed long before the Flood ;  
 That glorious Advent, set so oft in View,  
 Both in the ancient Scriptures and the new,  
 Of Him Who first was promis'd at the Fall,  
 Hope of all Ages, was foretold in all.  
 If *Enoch* and if *Noah* preach'd away,  
 Was *Adam*, think ye, silent in his Day ?  
 Had he no Loss to tell his Children then,  
 No Saving Righteousness to preach to Men ? 790  
 Did God ordain two Saviours, in the Case  
 Of *ante-* and of *post-diluvian* Race ?  
 Let oral mention or let written fail :  
 If good,—that is, if christian—Sense prevail,  
 It never can permit us to reject  
 Consistency of Truth for their Defect.  
 One God, One Saviour and One Spirit still  
 Recurs, let Bookworms reason as they will.  
 Whatever saves a Man from being curst,  
 What Man can say, God hid it from the first ? 800  
 Or, if he does, and talks as if he knew,  
 Will want of Writings prove that he says true ?  
 With or without them Fancy can take aim ;  
 If wanting, triumph, or, if not, disclaim ;—

788. Think you.—B.

787. *Noah preach'd away.* This refers, I suppose, to his prophetic curse and blessings on the descendants of his sons, *Genesis*, ix. 25-27. Cf. SHERLOCK, p. 81 (*Discourse IV.*) : "If this be so, then Noah's blessing is like unto Lamech's prophecy ; for as Lamech foresaw that Noah should receive from God the covenant of the earth's restoration ; so Noah foresaw that the greater blessing still behind, even the covenant that should restore man to himself and his Maker, should be conveyed through the posterity of Shem."

797. *One God, One Saviour and One Spirit.* "There is one body and one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." (*Ephesians*, iv. 4-6.)

Let them abound, no Miracles make out ;  
Let them be silent, make Apostles doubt.

The two main Pillars of his whole Discourse  
Whereon the Doctor seems to rest its Force,  
And begs the Reader, Sir, to recollect  
In his Conclusion, are to this Effect :  
"That Gospel Proofs on Prophecies relied,  
"Singly and independently applied ;  
"And that the first, from whom its Preachers draw  
"Their Proof of CHRIST, is MOSES in the Law."  
Both which *St. Peter's* Evidence, again,  
Shows to be Slips of his too hasty Pen.  
For when th' Apostle at the Temple Gate  
Restor'd the Cripple to a perfect State,  
And took Occasion from the heal'd Lamè  
To preach the Gospel in our Saviour's Name,  
Thus he bespake the People that stood by :  
"*God by the Mouth*"—(observe the Sacred Tie!)—  
"Of all His Prophets hath foreshown His Son,  
Jesus, by Whom this Miracle is done."

810

820

805. *Let them abound, no Miracles make out.* Even if there is abundant written evidence, fancy can demonstrate that there are no miracles.

811 *seqq.* "*That Gospel Proofs,*" &c. "But before I dismiss the subject, I must beg the reader to recollect what I have before observed, concerning the use of prophecy, as it was actually taught and practised by the Apostles and Evangelists :

1st. That, in preaching the Gospel to the *Jews*, they constantly applied the prophecies of the Old Testament, *singly and independently on each other*, to all the remarkable circumstances of the life of *Jesus*, as so many decisive proofs of his divine mission.

2nd. That in their search and allegation of those prophecies, *they began always with Moses*, as the first Prophet who had spoken of Christ, in the delivery of his law to the people." (MIDDLETON, p. 290.)

821. *Thus he bespake the People.* See *Acts*, iii. 18 : "But those things, which God before had showed by the mouth of all his prophets that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled." To "bespeak" is to address. So Polonius says in *Hamlet*, ii. 2, 143-1 :

"And my young mistress thus did I bespeak :

'Lord Hamlet is a prince,' &c."

Which of them singly *then* did *Peter* cite,  
 What Independency, where all unite ;  
 Where all predicted, as one Spirit bid,  
 That "*Christ* should suffer," as He really did ;—

"And enter into Glory ;"—for that next  
 The Preacher speaks to in the following Text : 830  
 Where, in his Exhortation to repent,  
 "JESUS," he tells them, "shall again be sent ;  
 Heav'n's must receive Mankind's Appointed Head,  
 Till Time hath done whatever God hath said  
 By all His Prophets since the World began ;—"  
 For so the Sense, without curtailing, ran ?  
 Of which the Doctor quoting but a Part,  
 Has yet dissolv'd the Charm of all his Art ;  
 Since all the Prophets—let the World begin  
 With Moses, if he will,—are taken in 840  
 And, join'd together, must, whate'er he thinks,  
 Produce a Chain, however few the Links.

'Tis true, he afterwards begins to quote ;  
 And, first, "*the Prophet* of whom *Moses* wrote ;"  
 Adding, that "all who in Succession came  
 Had likewise spoken of the very same."  
 "The same ;"—see how prophetic Words conspire,—  
*God's Own*, predicted to the Jewish Sire ;

829. "*And enter into Glory*," See *ib.*, and all the prophets from Samuel and  
*vv.* 20-1 : "And he shall send Jesus those that follow after, as many as have  
 Christ, which before was preached unto spoken, have likewise foretold of these  
 you : whom the heaven must receive until days." (Cf. *Deuteronomy*, xviii. 15, 18.)  
 the times of restitution of all things, which 847 *seqq.* "*The same*," &c. See *ib.*, v.  
 God hath spoken by the mouth of all his 25 : "Ye are the children of the prophets,  
 holy prophets since the world began." and of the covenant which God made with

843 *seqq.* *He afterwards begins to quote*, our fathers, saying unto Abraham, And in  
 &c. See *ib.*, *vv.* 22 and 24 : "For Moses thy seed shall all the kindreds of the earth  
 truly said unto the fathers, A Prophet shall be blessed." (Cf. *Genesis*, xxii. 18 ;  
 the Lord your God raise up unto you of xxviii. 14.)  
 your brethren, like unto me . . . Yea,

"And in thy Seed," so *Peter's* Words attest,  
 "Shall all the Kindreds of the Earth be blest."  
 Proofs of our Saviour *Christ* you see him draw  
 From *in*, from *after*, from *before* the Law. 850

What can be said in Answer, Sir, to this?  
 The Fact is plain, tho' *Peter* judg'd amiss;  
 For, "such defect," he scruples not to own,  
 "COLLINS against th' Evangelist has shown:  
 "The very Gospels have SOME Proofs assign'd  
 Of loose, precarious, and uncertain Kind."  
 This *Unbeliever*,—in the shocking Terms,  
 In which his Cause a *Clergyman* confirms,— 860  
 "Has Arguments unanswerably strong  
 "To prove their Manner of applying wrong;  
 "Altho', whatever Difficulties lie  
 "Against the Way wherein they shall apply,  
 "It is the best which, of all other Ways,  
 "The Case affords;"— so runs his rev'rend Phrase!  
 So Deist and Divine, but both in vain,  
 Seek to unfasten the prophetic Chain!

Should the New Testament be treated so  
 By one whose Character we did not know, 870  
 Might not the Language miss its aim'd Effect,  
 And rather tempt the Reader to suspect

854 *seqq.* For "such defect," &c. "From these two Observations" (cf. note to l. 811, *ante*) "it follows that, whatever difficulties may be charged to the particular applications of prophecies, which are found in the New Testament, yet on the whole, that way of applying them must be esteemed by Christians as the best which the case affords; and that the authority of the Gospel, as far as it is grounded on prophecy, rests on those single and independent predi-  
 dictions, which are delivered occasionally here and there, in the *Law and the Prophets*. It must be confessed, however, that the Author against whom the Bishop's Discourses are levelled, has alleged several strong and even unanswerable objections to some of them, which are cited by the Evangelists in proof of the mission of Jesus, as being of too loose and precarious a nature to build any solid argument upon." (MIDDLETON, pp. 290-1.)

That some presumptuous Mockers and self-will'd  
Had *Enoch's*, *Jude's*, and *Peter's* Words fulfill'd ?

To clear a tortur'd Passage from abuse  
This good Effect may possibly produce :  
That when a Writer of the modern Mode  
Shall cast Reflexions on the Sacred Code,  
Men will not merely upon sudden Trust  
In bold Assertions take them to be just ; 880  
Since it may be that he has only made  
Of great Mistakes a critical Parade ;  
Has only spoken Evil of those Things  
Of which he does not really know the Springs ;  
Has met with Matters high above his reach,  
And, scorning to be taught, presum'd to teach,  
Raising about them an affected Cry,  
That ends in nothing but a " Who but I ? "

" Bare Prophecy," the Doctor has profess'd,  
" Admits Completion only for its Test ; 890  
" Th' Event foretold by it must also be  
" What human Prudence never could foresee,  
" Nor human Power produce ; or else no Sign  
" Could thence appear of Agency Divine."

Prophecy, then, as his Descriptions own,  
Can be made sure by Miracles alone :

888. *Who but I?* I alone am right. event, likewise, foretold by it must be of  
889. *seqq.* "*Bare Prophecy*," &c. a kind which neither human prudence  
" Whereas a bare Prophecy delivered as could foresee nor human power produce ;  
the proof of a divine character in any person for otherwise it could not give any assurance  
or doctrine, is capable of any persuasive of a divine interposition ; since it  
force, or of giving any sort of conviction, might have been brought about by natural  
until it be accomplished ; the means, and foreseen perhaps, or luckily  
completion of it being the sole test by guessed by men of superior penetration."  
which its veracity can be determined. The (MIDDLETON, pp. 214-5.)

It is what he himself is pleas'd to call,  
While unfulfill'd, no Evidence at all.  
How is it, then, in his repeated Term  
Of "standing Evidence" more sure and Firm ? 900  
How is this consonant to "standing" still  
As none at all, till *Miracles* fulfil ?  
If it has none till they are overpast,  
Is not the Evidence from them at last ?  
From them prophetic Word, before obscure,  
Becomes an Evidence confirm'd and sure ;  
Its Truth is first démonstrated, and then  
Reflects its Light on Miracles again.

A hungry Question, therefore, to enquire,  
Of two great Proofs that actually conspire 910  
Which is the best ; when, with united Light,  
They both produce an Evidence so bright.  
But the Freethinker, "with a crafty View,"  
(If what his learn'd Assistant says be true)  
"Had rais'd prophetic Credit to Excess,  
"In order more securely to depress ;  
"And for this Cause his Lordship undertook  
"To write, it seems, at all Events, a Book."

This being, then, the Motive which he had,  
A Reader asks "What is there in it bad ?" 920

900. Of "*standing Evidence*." So MIDDLETON, p. 239 : "to those who did not hear that voice, the *word of Prophecy*, considered as a standing evidence, is surely a much firmer and more standing proof of" Christ's Divine mission.

909. A hungry Question. An empty question.

913 *seqq.* "With a crafty View." "As far as these words go, there is certainly nothing in them but what a sincere advo-

cate of the Gospel might freely allow and join issue upon ; but they came from an enemy, who had a crafty view in extolling the credit of Prophecy, in order to depress it afterwards the more effectually ; and this was the ground of his Lordship's resolution to confute or, at all events, to contradict them : which last part he has performed with great spirit, but how far he has succeeded in the first, will be seen in the following remarks." (MIDDLETON, p. 207.)



With what Decorum does a Priest accuse  
 A Bishop writing against "crafty" Views,—  
 Views of an Enemy to Gospel Truth?  
 Is the defending of him less uncouth?  
 Does such Defence, with such a Rudeness writ,  
 The Priest, the Bishop or the Cause befit,—  
 So interlarded with that loose Reproach  
 Which want of Argument is wont to broach;  
 So deeply ting'd the Ciceronian Style  
 With, what the Critics commonly call *Bile*, 930  
 That they, who thought it worth their while to seek  
 The Author's Motive, judg'd it to be *Pique*.

Soon as you enter on the Work, you see  
 An instant Sample what the whole will be.  
 First, "being jealous of the Bishop's Views,  
 "His Book for Years he dar'd not to peruse,  
 "Afraid to trust so eminent a Guide,  
 "For fear his JUDGMENT should be warp'd aside;"  
 Tho' quite secure;—"for he had ever found  
 "Authority to be a treach'rous Ground; 940  
 "And even this—*this capital Affair*,"  
 That was to lead his Judgment to a Snare,  
 "He found—and just as he EXPECTED too,

929. *The Ciceronian Style*. A not particularly fair allusion to Middleton's authorship of the *Life of Cicero*.

935 seqq. First, "being jealous," &c. "I knew His Lordship also to be eminently qualified to dress up any subject into any form which would best serve his own views, and was jealous of warping my judgment by some bias which his authority might be apt to imprint: for, as far as my experience has reached, I have ever found authority a treacherous guide to a searcher after truth, and theories, in all Sciences, the

chief obstacles of real Knowledge." (MIDDLETON, pp. 187-8.)

941 seqq. "*And even this—this capital Affair*," &c. "Upon this task I soon after entered, and found this capital work of his Lordship to be just such as I expected, exhibiting a species of reasoning peculiar to himself, ever subtle and refined, yet never convincing, and proper rather to perplex than to illustrate the notion of Prophecy, and to amuse rather than instruct an inquisitive reader. (*ib.*, p. 189.)

Who fear'd before a Bias from his View,"—  
When graciously inclin'd to see it since,—  
"Quite of a Kind that never CAN CONVINCE ;"  
Which, to be sure, afforded Reason good  
To write a *Book* against it, lest it *should*.

Had any other Author, less polite,  
With vulgar Phrase attempted thus to write, 950  
And thus begun so fine a Scheme to spin,  
"The Reas'ners of this World had broken in,  
"Rudely unravell'd all his fine-spun Scheme,"  
And sent him forth to seek another Theme.

How suited this to any good Design  
That should engage a Christian, a Divine !  
But what are Names, if "not a single one  
Be worth Regard, for sixteen Ages gone ;"  
If "to enquire what any of them say  
Be," as he thinks, "but wasting Time away ;"— 960  
Himself excepted in the modest Creed,  
Unless he writes for Nobody to read ?

Sure, of all treach'rous Guides, the greatest Cheat  
Is that of wild, unchristian Self-conceit !  
Possess'd by this domestic, inbred Pride,  
The wise Freethinkers scorn the Name of Guide.

952 seqq. "*The Reas'ners of this World*," &c. "But his Lordship being apprehensive that the reasoners of this world might break in upon him, and rudely unravel his fine-spun scheme, takes care to enter his protest against a certain set of them, whom, for the grossness of their infidelity, he excludes from 'all right to debate on this question.'" (*Ib.*, p. 260.)

957 seqq. If "*not a single one*," &c. "I thought it an idle curiosity and waste of

time to enquire what any modern Divine had preached or written about it" (the nature of prophecy), "because the whole that can be known authentically concerning its relation to Christianity must be learnt from those who first planted Christianity and were instructed by the Author of it on what foundation it rested, and how far the argument of Prophecy was useful to its propagation and support." (*Ib.*, pp. 188-9.)

Their own Sufficiency with Eyes their own  
 Clearly beheld, they trust to that alone,  
 Resolv'd no other Maxims to imbibe  
 Than what *their Reason* and *their Sense* prescribe,— 970  
 That is, *Themselves* ; for what a Man calls *his*  
 In such a Case is really what *he is* ;  
 Choose how refin'd an *Egotist* may be,  
*His Reason*, Judgment, Mind, and Sense is *he*.  
 In such Confinement if he sits enthrall'd,—  
 No Matter by what Title he is call'd,—  
 Blind as a Sadducee to Heav'nly Light,  
 He *will* believe his own Conceptions right ;  
 No *Prophecy* to him can seem more sure,  
 Nor *Miracle attested* work his Cure. 980  
 That of Conversion from his own dark Mind  
 Must first convince him that he once was blind ;  
 Then may he see with salutary Grief  
 The dire Effects of wretched Unbelief.  
 Looser and looser from all sacred Ties,  
 To what strange Heights a self-taught Sophist flies !

Friendship to Doctor *Middleton* sincere  
 Must, if exerted, wish him to forbear  
 A Kind of writing on the Christian Cause,  
 That gains him no desirable Applause ; 990  
 That, whether meant or not, may unawares  
 Involve a Reader in freethinking Snares,—  
 Involve himself. If frequent the Relapse,  
 A *Teacher of Divinity*, perhaps,

985. Looser and yet more loose from sacred.—B.

973. *Choose how.* However. Cf. note resurrection of the dead, as not asserted in the written law of the Pentateuch, and (though to vol. i. p. 95, *ante*.

977. *Blind as a Sadducee to Heav'nly Light.* The Sadducees disbelieved in the in what sense precisely remains uncertain) denied the existence of angelic spirits.

May run the Risk of being quite bereft,  
Of having nothing but the *Habit* left.

May that which teaches rightly to divide  
The Word of Truth, be his petition'd Guide ;  
Or, if resolv'd at present to pursue  
At future Leisure a mistaken Clue, 1000  
May future Leisure—an uncertain Date,—  
If granted, find him in a better State !

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## PETER'S DENIAL OF HIS MASTER.

[See the notes to ll. 351-406 of the preceding piece, and more especially l. 369 and note. I have not thought it necessary to repeat here the familiar biblical references.]

### I.

"**T**HO' all forsake Thee, Master, yet not I ;  
I'll go to Prison with Thee, or to die,"  
Said *Peter* ;—yet how soon did he deny !

### II.

A striking Proof, that even to good-Will  
The Help of Grace is necessary still  
To save a Soul from falling into Ill.

### III.

His Master told him how the Case would be ;  
But *Peter* could not see himself, not he !  
Till Grace withdrew, that he might come to see.

9. *Grace withdrew.* The Divine Grace was withdrawn from him.

## IV.

*Peter*, so valiant on a selfish Plan, 10  
Quite frightened by a Servant-maid, began  
To curse and swear, and "did not know the Man!"

## V.

'Twas thus that "Satan sifted him like Wheat,"  
And made him think his Courage was so great ;  
While JESUS pray'd that he might see the Cheat.

## VI.

High-minded in himself, he fell,—how low,  
The Cock instructed him, foretold to crow :  
His real Self then *Peter* came to know.

## VII.

He that "would *die* with Him, tho' all forsook,"  
Dissolv'd in Tears, when JESUS gave a Look, 20  
And learn'd Humility by Love's Rebuke.

## VIII.

Lesson for us is plain from *Peter's* Case,  
That real Virtue is the Work of *Grace*,  
And of its Height *Humility* the Base.

13. "*Satan sifted him like Wheat.*" 15. *The Cheat.* The delusion.  
"And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, be- 16. *High-minded.* Over-confident. Cf.  
hold Satan hath desired to have you, that *Romans*, xi. 20: "Be not high-minded,  
he may sift you as wheat." (*St. Luke*, but fear."  
xxii. 31.)

FAMILIAR EPISTLES TO A FRIEND,  
UPON A SERMON ENTITLED THE OFFICE AND OPERA-  
TIONS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, BY THE REV.  
MR. Warburton.

[The date of these *Familiar Epistles* is approximately fixed, and the personality of the "Friend" is all but identified, by a passage in a letter from Byrom to Law, dated Manchester, October 16th, 1752: "I was afraid that the *Letters* which I sent you might have miscarried, and am glad that they came to your hands and met with your approbation. I am the more indifferent to any other, because I think I am only accountable to you for the freedom taken with your writings, and am only glad if any one like the verses as a token that they enter into the sentiments of the prose." (*Remains*, ii. 546.)

I am not aware that, as the last words of this quotation might seem to imply, the *Familiar Epistles* reproduce any particular prose publication or utterance by Law.

Warburton's treatise on *The Doctrine of Grace, or The Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit Vindicated from the Insults of Infidelity and the Abuses of Fanaticism*, as it is printed in the 1811 edition of his *Works*, viii. 248 *seqq.*, was published in 1762. It bears, however, on its title-page the date 1750; and we are informed by Bishop Hurd in his *Life of Warburton* (*Works*, i. 76), that the amplified discourse was not put forth by Warburton, until he thought himself to have gained such an insight into the views and character of Wesley from a constant study of his *Journals*, as to be able to give a fair and full account of him to the public. "It seems," Hurd continues, "to have been principally for this reason that he altered and enlarged what he had written on the influence of the Holy Spirit, in the second volume of his *Sermons*; or rather, he composed that discourse anew, and with many improvements moulded it into a regular treatise on the subject." According to the same authority (*ib.*, p. 59) the first volume of Warburton's *Sermons*, entitled *Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, was published in 1752, and the second in 1754; but it is clear from the date of Byrom's *Familiar Epistles* that the particular Sermon in question must have been

published by 1752. I cannot find any sermon in the 1811 edition to which Bishop Hurd might be supposed to refer in the above quotation. Of course there are more than one of the earlier Sermons in which reference is made to the subjects of both the First and the Second Book of the enlarged treatise; but, as I have within reach no copy of the original edition of Warburton's *Sermons*, I must content myself with concluding that his Editor purposely omitted from his collected *Works* a discourse which its author had purposely revised and expanded. It is, moreover, tolerably clear from ll. 53-4 of the *First* of the following *Letters* that the Sermon on *The Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit* was published in the first instance separately, and by way both of a sort of advertisement and of a sample of what was intended to follow.

Mr. Leslie Stephen's account of Warburton's treatise on *The Doctrine of Grace* is sufficiently caustic; but it must be allowed that the controversialist never threw himself more liberally open to the sarcasms of the critic. (Happily there are literary as well as scientific impossibilities; for it is awful to think of Warburton retorting upon Leslie Stephen, or acknowledging the amenities of Mark Pattison.) "Warburton's treatise," says Mr. Stephen, *History of English Thought*, &c., i. 366 *seqq.*, "is like his other writings, ambidextrous. He is not happy unless he can be slaying the freethinker with one hand, and the enthusiast with the other. He therefore begins by assailing Middleton for his assertion that the gift of tongues was temporary. He maintains that, far from disappearing after its first manifestation, it lasted for the apostolic age. But, having overthrown this antagonist, he is equally vigorous against the other who goes upon diametrically opposite principles. He clutches at a text and tortures it after his own fashion. The decisive passage is the celebrated saying of St. Paul: Charity never faileth; but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there shall be Knowledge, it shall vanish away.' After due manipulation, the meaning of this clause in the statute-book comes out as follows: 'The virtue of Charity is to accompany the Christian Church through all its stages here on earth; whereas the gifts of prophecy, of strange tongues, of supernatural knowledge, are only transitory graces bestowed upon the Church in its infirm and infant state, to manifest its divine birth, and to support it against the delusions of the powers of darkness.'"

This analysis clearly holds good of the original sermon, as well as of the treatise in which the pretensions of the Church of Rome are altogether obscured by the iniquities of the founder of Methodism. Whatever may be thought of Byrom's method of dealing with such a writer as Warburton, it certainly lacks neither courage nor good taste. And, for my part, I confess to a sincere admiration for both the main divisions of my author's argument. To my mind, he effectively demonstrates the "bibliolatry" involved in Warburton's position as to the purpose of the Scriptures; and he not less ably exposes the "Who but I" attempt of the champion of insular orthodoxy to clear the ground which he thinks himself capable of maintaining by brushing aside all pretenders outside his own fane.

The reference to Law and Byrom made by Warburton in a footnote to the 1762 edition of his *Doctrine of Grace*, will be noticed in my *Introductory Note* to Byrom's *Stricture* on Warburton's *Treatise*, since a passage in the latter verses appears to have given rise to the footnote in question.]

## LETTER I.

A STRANGE Discourse in all impartial Views

This which you lent me, Doctor, to peruse.  
Had you not ask'd, a Subject of this Sort  
Might of itself a few Remarks extort,  
To show how much a very learn'd Man  
Has been mistaken in his preaching Plan.

Preaching—a Talent of the Gospel Kind,—  
By "preaching Peace through JESUS CHRIST" defin'd,  
Should, one would think, in order to increase  
The Gospel Good, confine itself to Peace ;

10

5. *Preaching—a Talent of the Gospel Kind.* "How shall they hear without a preacher? And how shall they preach except they are sent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings

of good things!" (*Romans*, x. 14-15.)

6. By "*preaching Peace through JESUS CHRIST*" defin'd. See *Acts*, x. 36: "The word which God sent unto the children of Israel, preaching peace by Jesus Christ: (he is the lord of all.)"

K K



Exert its milder Influence, and draw  
 The list'ning Crowds to Love's united Law.  
 For, should the greatest Orator extend  
 The Pow'rs of Sound to any other End,  
 Regard to healing Sentiments postpone,  
 And battle all that differ from his own :  
 Tho' he could boast of Conquest, yet how far  
 From "Peace through Jesus" through *himself* is War;  
 How widely wanders from the true Design  
 Of preaching *Christ* the bellicose Divine !

20

If amongst them who all profess Belief  
 In the same Gospel such a warlike Chief  
 Should in the Pulpit labour to erect  
 His glaring Trophies over ev'ry Sect  
 That does not just fall in with his Conceit,  
 And raise new Flourish upon each Defeat,—  
 As if, by dint of his haranguing Strain,  
 So many Foes had happily been slain :  
 Tho' it were sure that what he said was right,  
 Is he more likely, think you, to invite,  
 To win th' erroneous over to his Mind,  
 By Eloquence of such an hostile Kind,  
 Or to disgrace, by Arts so strongly weak,  
 The very Truths that he may chance to speak ?

30

Like Thoughts to these would naturally rise  
 Out of your own occasional Surprise,  
 When, purchasing the Book, you dipt into 't  
 And saw the Preacher's Manner of Dispute :

18. *Through HIMSELF is War!* A Byronic inversion for "is war through himself."

20. *The bellicose Divine!* This is of course not so much intended as a general description of Warburton (though none

could be more accurate) as in reference to his attacks (afterwards expanded into a general assault) upon whatever creed, sect, or individual seemed to him to deserve the epithet "fanatical."

How, Man by Man, and Sect by Sect display'd,  
 He pass'd along from Preaching to Parade ; 40  
 Confuting all that came within his Way,  
 Tho' too far off to hear what he should say.  
 Reason, methinks, why Candour would not choose,  
 Where no Defence could follow, to accuse ;  
 Where gen'rous Triumph no Attacks can yield  
 To the unquestion'd Master of the Field,  
 Where Names, tho' injur'd without Reason why,  
 Absent or present, can make no Reply  
 To the most false or disingenuous Hint,  
 Till Time, perchance, produces it in Print ; 50  
 When, we may take for granted, it is clad  
 In its best Fashion, tho' it be but bad !

This one Discourse is printed, we are told,  
 The Main of sev'ral Sermons to unfold.  
 For one grand Subject all of them were meant,—  
 The *Holy Spirit*, Whom the Father sent ;  
 Th' Indwelling Comforter, th' Instructing Guide ;  
 "Who was," *Christ* said, "for ever to abide  
*With* and *in* His Disciples here below,"  
 And teach them all that they should want to know. 60

40. *Parade*. Self-ostentation.  
 43 *seqq.* *Reason, methinks*, &c. This argument, which has more frequently been urged in jest than in earnest, must be allowed to be intrinsically feeble. The pulpit is at least not anonymous ; and although it is not customary (except with Tudor sovereigns and Scotch idiots) to answer preachers on the spot, it is absurd to taunt them with an imaginary irresponsibility.

53. *This one Discourse is printed*. See *Introductory Note*.

58 *seqq.* "*Who was*," CHRIST said, &c. See *St. John*, xiv. 16-17 : "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever ; even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him : but ye know him ; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you ;" and *ib.*, v. 26 : "The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things."

A glorious Theme,—a comfortable one  
 For Preachers to exert themselves upon,  
 First taught themselves, and fitted to impart  
 God's Truth and Comfort to an honest Heart!  
 Some such at least imagine to have been  
 Amongst the Flock that came to *Lincoln's Inn*,  
 With a sincere Desire to hear and learn  
 That which became a *Christian's* chief Concern;  
 Pleas'd with the Preacher's Text, with Hopes that he  
 Might prove an Instrument in some Degree 70  
 Of their Perception of an holy Aid,  
 Fruit of that Promise which the Saviour made;  
 Might help them more and more to understand  
 How near true Help and Comfort is at Hand;  
 How soon the Spirit moves upon the Mind,  
 When it is rightly humbled and resign'd:  
 With what a Love to ev'ry Fellow-soul  
 One Member of the Church regards the Whole;  
 Looks upon all Mankind as Friends, or shares  
 To heartiest Enemies his heartier Pray'rs. 80

I might go on; but you, I know, will grant,  
 Such is the Temper that we really want;  
 And such, if Preachers ever preach indeed,  
 If Pastors of a Flock will really feed,  
 They will endeavour solely to excite,  
 And move divided *Christians* to unite,

66. *Amongst the Flock that came to LINCOLN'S INN.* Warburton held the preach-ership of Lincoln's Inn from 1746 to 1757, when he was appointed Dean of Bristol. The first thirteen of his Sermons (as printed in vol. ix. of the edition of 1811), viz., the series on *The Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, are dedicated to the Benchers of the Inn.

do not know what was the text of the original sermon; but it may be gathered from chap. i. of *The Doctrine of Grace*, that it consisted of the passages cited *ante*, note to ll. 58 *seqq.* Very characteristically, in the *Preface* to the treatise, Warburton dilates on the text "Answer a fool according to his folly, &c.," on which he had formerly preached a sermon (see *Works*,

69. *Pleas'd with the Preacher's Text.* I x. 61 *seqq.*

If not in outward Forms that but supply  
 A loftier *Babel* without inward Tie,  
 Yet in a common Friendliness of Will,  
 That wishes well to ev'ry Creature still ; 90  
 That makes the Centre of Religion's Plan  
 A God-like Love embracing ev'ry Man.

88. *A loftier BABEL.* I suppose, a confusion which is rather less easily perceptible.

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LETTER II.

NO Office seems more sacred and august  
 Than that of Preachers who *fulfil* their *Trust*,  
 Working with God, and helping Men to find  
 The Prince of Life, the Saviour of Mankind,  
 Who "came Himself a Preacher from on high  
 Of Peace to all, the distant and the nigh."

So said the Saint, whose preaching was the same  
 To *Jew*, to *Greek*,—Salvation thro' His Name,—  
 Who taught thro' Him to preach immortal Life,  
 Avoiding Questions that engender Strife ; 10  
 Patient, and meek, and gentle unto all,  
 Instructing ev'n Opposers without Gall,  
 If peradventure God might give them Grace  
 The Truth, when kindly offer'd, to embrace.

If these Conditions Preaching may demand,  
 What must we think of the Discourse in Hand?  
 Which, when we read, is apter to suggest  
 A diff'rent Temper in the Preacher's Breast;  
 A Text perverted from its native Scope,

5 *segg.* Who "*came Himself a Preacher*," 8. *So said the Saint, &c.* The following  
 &c. See *Ephesians*, ii. 17 : "And came lines very beautifully summarise and  
 and preached peace to you which were characterise the teaching of St. Paul, es-  
 afar off, and to them that were nigh." pecially in the *Epistle to the Romans*.

A Disappointment of all *hearing* Hope? 20  
 Here is a long Dispute, in his first Head,  
 About what *Doctor Middleton* had said;  
 That "when the Gift of Tongues was first bestow'd,  
 "'Twas but an instantaneous Sign that show'd  
 "The Gospel's chosen Minister; and then,  
 "That Purpose signified, it ceas'd again;  
 "So was its Type, the fiery Tongue, a Flash  
 "Of Light'ning quickly vanish'd,"—and such Trash;  
 To which a Minister, who knew the Press,  
 Ill chose the Time when preaching to digress; 30  
 To take a Text affording thro' the Whole  
 Such grounds of Comfort to a christian Soul,  
 And then neglect, to preach a poor Debate  
 That could but shine at pamphleteering Rate;  
 That from the Pulpit must disgust the Pew  
 Of sager Bench, and sober Students too.

You may, hereafter, if you choose it, see  
 How they mistook, both *Middleton* and *he*,

21, 22. *Here is a long Dispute, in his first Head, Most what DOCTOR MIDDLETON had said.*

In the *Discourse* this controversy occupies Chap. ii. of Book I., where Warburton pauses on the very threshold of his argument to refute the assertion of Middleton in his *Essay on the Gift of Tongues*, that "The Gift of tongues upon the day of Pentecost was *not lasting, but instantaneous and transitory*; not bestowed upon them for the constant work of the ministry, but as an *occasional sign only*, that the person endowed with it was a chosen minister of the Gospel: which sign, as soon as it had served that particular purpose, seems to have ceased, and vanished." (Warburton's *Works*, viii. 251-2.)

29. *Who knew the Press.* Who knew the weight of his responsibility.

33. *And then neglect, to preach a poor Debate.* And then neglect it, in order to preach a thin controversial discourse.

34. *At pamphleteering Rate.* If estimated as a pamphlet.

35, 36. *The Pew Of sager Bench.*

The Benchers of the Inn in their pew. Lincoln's Inn Chapel preserved the external features of the Warburtonian age, as late at all events as the days when a very different preacher occupied its pulpit—the late F. D. Maurice.

37, 38. *You may hereafter, if you choose it, see*

*How they mistook.*

Byrom refers to the argument which he

The Gift of Tongues ; how little quite throughout  
They knew, tho' learnèd, what they were about. 40  
In present Lines, I shall but just relate  
One Instance of the not uncommon Fate  
Of learnèd Men who, in deep Points exact,  
Forget sometimes the most apparent Fact.

Th' Apostles, gifted by the Holy Ghost,  
Began to speak with Tongues at Pentecost ;  
"But did not," so the Preacher says, "begin  
To speak, before the Multitude came in."  
He urges roundly how in this Respect  
"The learned *Middleton* did not reflect, 50  
"That in a private Room they all were set,  
"And Tongues not spoken till the People met."

Now, if you read the Pentecostal Facts,  
As you will find them written in the *Acts*.  
From *his* Reflexion tho' the Point lay hid,  
The Text affirms expressly that they *did*.

42 The, no uncommon, Fate.—A and B.

doubtless already had in his mind, and which, after suggesting it in his *Remarks on Dr. Middleton's Examination of the Bishop of London's Discourses on Prophecy*, ll. 495 *seqq* (*infra*), he developed in his *Four Epistles to the Rev. Mr. L—* (*infra*), that the gift of tongues consisted in bestowing on all the *hearers* of the Apostles the power of understanding the one language used by them on the occasion.

47, 48. "But did not," so the Preacher says, "begin  
To speak, before the Multitude came in."  
"But the learned person" (*Middleton*)  
"has omitted to bring this other circumstance into his account, that when the cloven tongues appeared upon each of them,

they were assembled together in a private room, sequestered and apart : and that it was not till the thing was *noised abroad*, and the *multitude came together*, to enquire into the truth of it, that the apostles spoke with tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance. Now, between this visible descent of the Holy Spirit, and their speaking to the multitude, a considerable time must have intervened ; sufficient to convince the apostles, from the steady duration of the appearance, that it was not natural, but miraculous." (*Warburton's Works*, viii. 252.)

56. The Text affirms expressly that they DID. That they began to speak with tongues, before the multitude came in.

No Learning wanted to determine this ;  
 'Tis what a reading Child could never miss.  
 This very Gift, it is exceeding clear,  
 Was that which brought the Multitude to hear : 60  
 "Speaking with Tongues" foregoing Words proclaim,  
 The next, "when this was nois'd abroad, they came."

Scarce to be thought that, studying the Case,  
 With formal Purpose to explain a Place,  
 A Man so learnèd and acute could make,  
 Could preach, could publish, such a flat Mistake.  
 But 'tis the Fate of great and eager Wits  
 To trust their Memory too much by Fits.

To prove that *Middleton's* Dispute was wrong  
 Takes up the Pages, for a Sermon, long. 70  
 Soon after this you'll see another start,  
 To fill his First Division's Second Part.  
 For, having touch'd upon the Names of all  
 The Gifts enumerated by Saint *Paul*,  
 Then, in what Sense the Scripture was inspir'd,  
 Higher or lower, comes to be enquir'd.  
 The high he calls "organical ;" the low  
 "Partial and true," as he proceeds to show.

Beyond dispute, Byrom rightly convicts Warburton of an odd blunder. See *Acts*, ii. 4 and 6 : "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance . . . Now when this was noised abroad, the multitude came together, &c."

71 *seqq.* Soon after this you'll see another start. In the enlarged *Discourse*, Warburton in Chap. iv. of Book I. cites St. Paul's enumeration to the Corinthians (*1st Epistle*, xii. 1 *seqq.*) of the spiritual gifts misused by them, and proceeds in the

following chapters to discuss "the true notion of Scripture Inspiration."

77, 78. *The high he calls "organical ;" the low*

*"Partial and true," as he proceeds to show.*

Warburton's definition of the "idea of organic inspiration" is as follows (*u.s.*, p. 273) : "A spurious opinion, begotten in the Jewish church by supersition, and nursed up by mistaken piety in the Christian, hath almost passed into an article of faith, "That the language of Scripture was dictated by the Holy Spirit in such sort

This is the Summary of what is said  
 Touching the Holy Ghost in his first Head, 80  
 As "Guide to Truth" and aiding to excite,  
 To clear, to give the *Understanding* Light.  
 What makes it *Sermon* is the *Text* prefixt,  
 Tho' scarce a Word of it is intermixt ;—  
 Consistently enough, for it has none  
 Which suit the Topics that he dwells upon,—  
 Topics without a Dignity to grace  
 Text, Office, Audience, Person, Time, or Place !

But, were this all, and did not what he spake  
 Lead by Degrees to serious Mistake, 90  
 Taking a Text for Form's Sake, to prepare

that the writers were but the passive organs through which every word and letter were conveyed." "And," he pleasantly subjoins, "as superstition seldom knows where to stop, the Mahometans improved upon this fancy, and represented their Scriptures as sent them down from Heaven ready written." The true sense in which the inspiration of the Scriptures of the New Testament should be understood, he explains (*ib.*, pp. 275-6) to be: "that the Holy Spirit so directed the pens of these writers, that no considerable error should fall from them :—by enlightening them with his immediate influence in all such matters as were necessary for the instruction of the Church, and which, either through ignorance or prejudice, they would otherwise have represented imperfectly, partially, or falsely; and by preserving them by the more ordinary means of providence from any mistakes of consequence concerning those things whereof they had acquired a competent knowledge by the common way of information. In a word,

by watching over them incessantly; but with so suspended a hand, as permitted the use, and left them to the guidance, of their own faculties, while they kept clear of error; and then only interposing when, without this divine assistance, they would have been in danger of falling." Warburton adds (*ib.*, p. 277), with his usual imperturbability: "And yet I am persuaded, licentious men have been the forwarder to contend for this moderated inspiration, under the idea of a *partial* one, on the pleasing fancy that it would support them in believing no more than suited with their principles or their practice." He concludes that "a *partial* Inspiration, as" by him "contended for and explained, answers all the ends of a Scripture universally and organically inspired, by producing an *unerring rule* of Faith and Manners; and, besides, *obviates* all those objections to inspiration which arise from the too high notion of it." One can understand the kind of indignation with which such phraseology affected Byrom—not to speak of Law.

L L



The Church to hear some *Shop-renown'd* Affair—  
 Too oft the Turn of the polite Divine!—  
 Would hardly merit your Regard or mine.  
 But, Sir, it is not only misapplied,  
 This glorious Text, but in effect denied  
 Or misconceiv'd ; and therefore, cutting short  
 At present Errors of less fatal Sort,  
 Let us pursue this Subject in the next,  
 And from the *Sermon* vindicate the *Text*. 100

92. *Some Shop-renown'd Affair.* The booksellers' shops, *i.e.*, in the literary discussion of some question popular in the world.

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LETTER III.

YOU wonder'd much why any Man of Parts  
 Would use in Preaching low, invective Arts ;  
 By which the vain Disputings that infest  
 The Christian World have seldom been suppress,  
 But often heighten'd, and that use destroy'd  
 For which fine Talents ought to be employ'd.

If one can judge from reading this *Divine*,—  
 Whose Parts and Talents would be really fine,  
 If juster Notions of the *Heav'nly* Grace  
 Taught but the *earthly* not to quit their Place,— 10  
 If one can judge, I say, from stated Laws  
 In his Discourses what should be the Cause  
 Of such Perversion of a lively Wit  
 In erudite Possessors, this is it:

They think that *now* Religion's sole Defence  
 Is Learning, History and critic Sense ;

11, 12. *From stated Laws*  
*In his Discourses.*

From principles advanced in his own Sermons. Another of Byrom's inversions.

That with Apostles as a needful Guide  
 The *Holy Spirit* did indeed abide ;  
 But, having dictated to them a Rule  
 Of Faith and Manners for the *Christian* School, 20  
 Immediate Revelation ceas'd, and Men  
 Must now be taught by apostolic Pen ;  
 Canon of Scripture is complete, and they  
 May read, and know what Doctrine to obey.  
 To look for *Inspiration* is absurd ;  
 The Spirit's Aid is in the *written Word* :  
 They who pretend to His Immediate Call,  
 From Pope to Quaker, are *Fanatics* all.

Thus, having prov'd at large to Christians met  
 What no one Christian ever *doubted* yet, 30  
 That the New Testament was really writ  
 By Inspiration, which they all *admit*,  
 He then subjoins that "this inspir'd Record  
 "Fulfill'd the Promise of our Blessed Lord ;"—  
 Fulfill'd it "*eminently*," is the Phrase ;—  
 "For tho' the Faithful, in succeeding Days  
 "Occasionally find in ev'ry Place  
 "The Spirit's *ordinary* Help, and Grace,  
 "His Light Supreme, His constant, fixt Abode,  
 "Is in the Scriptures of this Sacred Code. 40

This was the Sense, not easy to explore,  
 When, reck'ning up the Spirit's Fruits before,

20. *The Christian School.* The body, or community, of Christians. ordinary influence occasionally assists the faithful of all ages, yet his constant abode and supreme illumination is in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament." (*Id.*, 271-2. It was to this passage that Warburton appended the note reflecting on Law and referring to Byrom, as to which see *Introductory Note* to the following piece.)
29. *To Christians met.* To a Christian congregation.
- 33 *seqq.* He then subjoins, &c. "And thus the prophetic promise of our blessed Master, that 'the Comforter should abide with us for ever,' was eminently fulfilled. For though, according to the promise, his

"Scripture," said he (which this Account explains)  
 "Does not *record* them only, but *contains*,"—  
 "CONTAINS," in Capitals : as if he took  
 The Scripture to be something *more* than *Book*,—  
 Something *alive*, wherein the Spirit dwelt,  
 That did not only *tell* His Fruits, but *felt*.  
 "The sure Deposit of the Spirit's Fruits  
 "In Holy Scripture," he elsewhere computes, 50  
 "Fulfill'd the Saviour's Promise in a Sense  
 "Very sublime."—So it should seem from hence,  
 That "eminently," and "sublimely," thus  
 The Holy Spirit should abide *with Us*.

If I mistake him, or misrepresent,  
 You'll shew me where, for 'tis not with Intent.  
 I want, if possible, to understand  
 A Sentence coming from so fam'd a Hand.  
 Tho' plain the Words, 'tis difficult to solve  
 What christian Sense he meant them to involve ; 60  
 In ev'ry Way that Words and Sense agree,  
 'Tis perfect *Bibliolatry* to me.

56 'Tis without intent.—B.

43 *seqq.* "*Scripture*," said he, &c. Warburton, possibly in consequence of this comment, seems to have slightly modified his phraseology and his type, if the passage referred to be that at the end of chap. v. of bk. i., where he says that "for a further account of the *nature* and the use" of the gifts enumerated by St. Paul, "we must have recourse to Scripture itself, which contains the history of their various fruits." (*u.s.*, 266.) Nothing could be less objectionable than this statement ; but in the form cited by Byrom the phraseology is certainly transcendental. His criticism resembles that of Law, to which Warburton replied in the note referred to above, but is more moderate in tone.

49, 50. "*The sure Deposit of the Spirit's Truth  
 Is Holy Scripture.*"

"We have observed how this" (the promise that "the Comforter should abide with us for ever") "likewise hath been verified by the sure deposit of the *Spirit of Truth* in sacred Scripture." (*u.s.*, 307.) The epithet "sublime" I cannot find in the enlarged treatise except in the discussion, in chap. ix., of the style of the Scriptures. See again Warburton's note on Law.

62. *Tis perfect BIBLIOLATRY to me.* Whether or not Byrom is to be regarded as the inventor of this word, which he also uses in *A Stricture on Warburton's Doctrine*

No *Image-Worship* can be more absurd  
 Than idolising thus the written Word,  
 Which they who wrote intended to excite  
 Attention to our Lord's Predicted Light,—  
 To that same Spirit, leading human Thought,  
 By Which themselves, and all the good were taught  
 Preaching that Word, which a Diviner Art,  
 Which God Himself had *written* on the *Heart*. 70

How can the best of Books,—for 'tis confest  
 That of all Books the Bible is the best,—  
 Do any more than give us an Account  
 Of what was said, for Instance, on the Mount ;  
 Of what was done, for Instance, on the Cross,  
 In order to retrieve the human Loss ?  
 What more than tell us of the Spirit's Aid,  
 Far as His Fruits by Words can be display'd ?  
 But Words are only the *recording* Part ;  
 The *Things* contain'd must needs be in the *Heart*. 80  
 Spirit of God no more in *Books* demands  
 To dwell Himself, than "Temples made with Hands."

"Fruits of the Spirit," as *St. Paul* defin'd,  
 "Are Love, Joy, Peace,"—the Blessings of the *Mind*,  
 The Proofs of His "Abiding."—Who can brook

*of Grace*, l. 48, *infra*, I know of no previous instance of the employment of it, and I observe that in the *New English Dictionary*, the passage in the stanzas against Warburton is cited as the earliest known instance of the word. Next comes a passage from Crabb Robinson's *Diary*, s.d. 1826 : "Coleridge had convinced him that he was a bibliolatrast ;"—by the way, an incorrect derivative.

66. *Our Lord's Predicted Light*. See note to Letter I., 58 *seqq.*, *ante*.  
 82. "Temples made with Hands." "Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands." (*Acts*, vii. 48.)

83, 84. "Fruits of the Spirit," as *St. Paul* defin'd,  
 "Are Love, Joy, Peace."  
 See *Galatians*, v. 22-3 : "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance."  
 85. *The Proofs of His Abiding*. See *ib.*, v. 25 : "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit."

A meek, a gentle, good, long-suff'ring Book ;  
 Or let true Faith and Temperance be sunk  
 To Faith in Writings, that are never drunk ?  
 In fine, whatever Pen and Ink presents  
 Can but contain *historical* Contents ; 90  
 Nor can the Fruits of Spirit be in *Print*  
 In any Sense, but as *recorded* in't.

Plain as this is, and strange, as you may think,  
 The learnèd Worship paid to Pen and Ink,  
 It is the main Hypothesis, you'll find,  
 On which are built Discourses of this Kind ;  
 Which yet can give us for a Scripture Clue  
 What contradicts its very Letter too,  
 As this has done—be shown, as we go on,  
 By these important Verses of *St. John* ! 100

99. *Be shown.* This shall be shown.

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#### LETTER IV.

THE Gospel's simpler Language being writ,  
 Not for the Sake of Learning or of Wit,  
 But to instruct the pious and the meek,—  
 When its Intent mere Critics come to seek,  
 We find on plain intelligible Text  
 The *variorum* Comments most perplex.

Such is the Text before us, and so plain  
 The Saviour's Promise which the Words contain,  
 That Men for modern Erudition's Sake  
 Must read and *study* to *acquire* Mistake ; 10  
 Must first observe the Notions that prevail  
 Amongst the famous in their Church's Pale,—

Firm in the Prejudice, that all is right  
Which Books or Persons most in Vogue recite;  
*Then* seek to find how Scripture coincides  
With each Decision of their knowing Guides.

Without some such Preparatives as these,  
How could the forc'd Interpretation please  
That makes a Sacred Promise to bestow  
Perpetual Aid exhausted long ago, 20  
In one short Age? For God's Abiding Guide  
Withdrew, it seems, when the Apostles died,  
And left poor Millions ever since to seek  
How dissonant Divines had construed Greek.

In graver Writers one has often read  
What in Excuse of Book-worship is said :  
"It is not *Ink* and *Letter* that we own  
"To be Divine, but *Scripture's Sense* alone ;  
"We have the *Rule* which the Apostles made,  
"And no Occasion for *immediate* Aid."— 30  
Suppose, for once, the gross Delusion true,—  
What must a plain and honest Christian do?  
The Spirit's Aid how far must he extend,  
To bring his Saviour's Promise to an End?  
This he perceives Discourse to dwell upon,  
And yet "for ever to abide" has none.  
He for the Sake of Safety would be glad  
To have that Spirit which Apostles had ;  
Not one of them has writ but says, "he may ;"  
That "tis the Bliss for which he ought to pray :"  
That "God will grant it him," his Saviour said, 40

41, 42. "That 'God will grant it him,' evil, know how to give good gifts unto  
his Saviour said, your children ; how much more shall your  
'Sooner than Parents give their Children heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to  
Bread.'" them that ask him?"

See *St. Luke*, xl. 13: "If ye then, being

"Sooner than Parents give their Children Bread."  
 If *reading* Scripture can improve a Soul,  
 This is the Sum and Substance of the whole,  
 And gives it Value of such high Degree.  
 For, tho' as Sacred as a *Book* can be,  
 'Tis only so, because it best revives  
 Thought of that Good which animated *Lives* ;  
 Because its Authors were inspir'd to write,  
 And saw the Truth in Its own Heav'nly Light ; 50  
 Because it sends us to that *Promis'd* Source  
 Of Light and Truth, Which govern'd their Discourse,  
 The *Holy Spirit's* Ever-present Aid,  
 "With us, and in us"—so the Saviour pray'd—  
 That, when He left the World, the *Holy Ghost*  
 Might dwell with Christians, as an Inward Host ;  
 That Teaching, Truth, and Comfort in the Breast  
 Might be secur'd by this Abiding Guest.

"Yes ; with Apostles."—Sunk by such a Thought  
 Th' inestimable Treasure down to Naught ! 60  
 An History of Sunshine may as soon  
 Make a blind Man to see the shining Noon,  
 As Writings *only* without inward Light  
 Can bring the World's Redemption into Sight.  
*Jesus*, the *Christ*, the very Book has shown,  
 Without the Holy Spirit none can own ;—  
 In *Words*, they may ; but, what is plainly meant,  
 They cannot give a real *Heart-Consent*.

54. "*With us, and in us.*" "For he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." (St. John, xiv. 17.)

59. "*Yes, with Apostles.*" "Let us see now, what holy Scripture hath delivered concerning the DURATION of the extraordinary endowments of the Holy Spirit. . . . Now, the Holy Spirit, by the mouth of Paul, has, I presume, determined this question for us, where, in the passage quoted before" (1st Corinthians, xiii. 8), "he recapitulates the various prerogatives of the Apostolic Age. This decisive passage is in these words : 'Charity never faileth ; but whether there be PROPHECIES, they shall fail, &c.'"

What Friend to Scripture, then, Sir, can displace  
 This Inward Witness of Redeeming Grace, 70  
 And rest the *Gospel* on such outward View,  
 As any *Turk* may rest his *Koran* too?  
 Nay, he can own a written Word or Work  
 That *Christians* do, and yet continue *Turk*.

Why do the Christian Disputants so fill  
 The World with Books of a polemic Skill,  
 When 'tis the Sacred, and acknowledg'd one  
 That all their jarring Systems build upon,—  
 But that the *Spirit* does not rule their Wit,  
 By Which at first the *Sacred one* was writ, 80  
 Of Whose Support great Scholars stand in need  
 As much as they who never learnt to read?  
 Unhappy they, but for that Living Guide,  
 Whom God Himself has promis'd to provide,—  
 A Guide, to quote the blessèd Text again,  
 "For ever to abide" with Christian Men!

Fond of its Books, poor Learning is afraid  
 And higher Guidance labours to evade.  
 Books have the Spirit in *Supreme* Display;  
 Men but in lower, *ordinary* Way! 90

73, 74. *Nay, he can own, &c.* See the salient passage in the *Koran* determining the attitude of Mahomedans to the Christian Dispensation: "*Jesus* is no other than a servant, whom we favoured with the *gift of prophecy*; and we appointed him for an example unto the children of Israel . . . and he shall be a sign of the approach of the last hour; wherefore doubt not thereof. And follow me; this is the right way . . . And when *Jesus* came with evident *miracles*, he said,

Now am I come unto you with wisdom, and to explain unto you part of *those things* concerning which ye disagree; wherefore worship him: this is the right way. And the confederated sects among them fell to variance: but woe unto those that have acted unjustly, because of the punishment of a grievous day." (*Al Koran*, chap. xliii., *The Koran, translated with a Preliminary Discourse* by G. Sale, new edition, London, 1844, p. 400.)

M M



This strange Account of Men and Books is true,  
It seems, "according to the Promise" too!

Such wild Conceits all Men have too much Wit,  
Or learnèd or unlearnèd, to admit ;  
But, when some *Interest* or *Custom* rules  
And chains obsequious Wills to diff'rent Schools,  
The wisest then, Sir, will relinquish Thought,  
And speak like Parrots *just* as they are *taught*.—  
What this should be, what spends in vain the Fire  
Of brisker Tempers, let us next enquire.

100

92. "*According to the Promise.*" The Promise conveyed by our Lord as recorded by St. John.

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LETTER V.

WHEN Christians first receiv'd the joyful News,  
"Messiah come," unmixt with worldly Views ;  
When the whole Church with Heav'nly Grace was blest,  
And from the Spirit Comforter possess'd  
One Heart, one Mind, one View to common Good :  
Then was the real Gospel understood.

"Then was the Time,"—to cite what you will find  
The Preacher noting—"when the World combin'd

7 *seqq.* *Then was the Time, &c.* "A further reason for the abatement of the influence of the supporting spirit of Grace is the peace and security of the CHURCH. There was a time when the Powers of this world were combined together for its destruction. At such a period, nothing but superior aid from Above could support humanity in sustaining so great a conflict as that which the holy Martyrs encountered with joy and rapture ; the horrors of death in torment. But now the profession of the Christian Faith is attended with ease and honour ; and the conviction, which the weight of human testimony and the conclusions of human reason afford us of its truth, is abundantly sufficient to support us in our religious perseverance." (WARBURTON, *u.s.*, p. 319.) It may be doubted whether Warburton, or the Warburtonian

"Its Pow'rs against it, but could *not* destroy ;  
"When holy Martyrs with enraptur'd Joy      10  
"Encounter'd Death, enabled to sustain  
"Its utmost Terror and its utmost Pain.  
"At such a Juncture Heav'n's uncommon Aid  
"Shone forth, to help Humanity display'd.

"But now"—his Reason for abated Grace  
Diff'rence of primitive and present Case,—  
"Now, Ease and Honour" (mind the Maxim, Friend !)  
"On the Profession of the Faith attend.  
"At first establish'd by Diviner Means,  
"On human Testimony now it leans ;      20  
"Supports itself, as other Facts must do  
"That rest on human Testimony too ;  
"Sufficient Strength is the Conviction there,  
"To make the present Christian persevere.

Here lies the Secret that may soon unfold  
Why modern Christians fall so short of old ;  
Why they appear to have such diff'rent Looks,  
The Men of *Spirit* and the Men of *Books*.  
When Racks and Gibbets, Torment and Distress  
Attended them who ventur'd to confess,      30  
They had, indeed, a fixt and firm Belief,  
To die for One Who suffer'd like a Thief ;  
Stretch'd on the Wheel, or burning in the Flame,  
To preach a Crucified Redeemer's Name.  
Courage like this compendious Proof supplied  
Of Heav'n's true Kingdom, into which they died.  
Thus was the Wisdom of the World struck dumb,  
And all the Pow'rs of Darkness overcome ;

age of the Church of England, ever produced a more delightful generalisation than Faith being now attended with ease and honour. What a stimulant, for instance, that as to the profession of the Christian to missionary effort and self-sacrifice !

Gospel prevail'd by its internal Light,  
And gave the Subject for the Pen to write. 40

But when the World with a more fatal Plan  
To flatter what it could not force began ;  
When "Ease" and "Honour," as the Preacher saith,  
Attended the Profession of the Faith :  
Then wrought its Mischief in the too secure  
The secret Poison, slower, but more sure.  
Commodious Maxims then began to spread,  
And set up Learning in the Spirit's Stead ;  
The Life diminish'd, as the Books increas'd,  
Till Men found out that Miracles were ceas'd ; 50  
That, with respect to Succours more sublime,  
The Gospel Promise was but for a Time ;  
That Inspiration amongst Men of Sense  
Was all a mere fanatical Pretence,—  
And divers like Discoveries, that grant  
To "*Ease*" and "*Honour*" just what Faith they want ;—

Faith to profess that wond'rous Things of old  
Did really happen, as the Books have told ;  
But with a Caution, never to allow  
The Possibility of happ'ning now : 60  
For, as the World went on, it might affect  
An honourable Ease in some respect,  
To own celestial Comfort still inspir'd,  
And suff'ring Courage as at first requir'd,—  
Quite proper then, but equally unfit,  
When once the sacred Canon had been writ.  
For upon that (is gravely here averr'd)  
Part of the *Spirit's* Office was transferr'd ;  
Books once compos'd, th' Illuminating Part

45. *The too secure.* The over-confident. 59. *With a Caution.* With this proviso.

He ceas'd Himself, and left to human Art 70  
To find within His *Scriptural* Abode  
Th' Enlight'ning Grace that Presence once bestow'd.

These Suppositions if a Man suppose,  
You see th' immediate Consequence that flows :  
That Men and Churches afterwards attack'd  
Are pre-demolish'd by asserted Fact ;  
Which, once advanc'd, may with the greatest Ease  
Condemn whatever Christians he shall please ;  
Owing to his Forbearance in some Shape,  
If aught th' extensive Havoc shall escape. 80

With such a Fund of Learning, and a Skill  
To make it serve what Argument he will ;  
With choice of Words for any chosen Theme ;  
With an Alertness rulingly supreme,—  
What, Sir, can single Persons or a Sect,  
When he is pleas'd to preach at 'em, expect ?

Just what they meet with in the present Case :  
All the dogmatic Censure and Disgrace  
That a commanding Genius can exert,  
When it becomes religiously alert,— 90  
With narrow Proofs, and Consequences wide,  
Sets all Opponents of its Rote aside ;  
The PAPISTS first, and then th' inferior Fry,  
FANATICS, vanquish'd with a " Who but I ? "

70. *Ceas'd.* Put a stop to.

75. *Afterwards attack'd.* Whom he intended to attack afterwards.

79. *Owing to.* It being due merely to.

93, 94. *The PAPISTS first, and then th' inferior Fry,*

FANATICS, vanquish'd with a " Who but I ? "

In the enlarged treatise the Church of Rome is very summarily dealt with : " Here

especially, all the *superstitions* and *fanatical* pretences of the Church of Rome to supernatural powers are detected and exposed ; not only the gift of INFALLIBILITY, which comprehends *all Mysteries and all Knowledge*, and the work of TRANSUBSTANTIATION, which comprehends *all Faith*, not to remove, but to *make mountains* ; but likewise all the LEGENDARY MIRACLES of their Hierarchy in general,

These are the modish Epithets that strike  
 At true Religion and at false alike ;  
 Of these Reproaches Infidels are full,  
 Their Use in others verging down to dull.—  
 How one, who is no Infidel, applies  
 The hackney'd Terms, may next salute your Eyes. 100

and of their canonised Saints in particular, of the original Sermon.—The phrase “a  
 &c.” (See *WARBURTON*, *u.s.*, 309-310.) But ‘Who but I?’ is used by Byrom in his  
 “modern Fanaticism” in the person of *Remarks on Dr. Middleton's Examination*,  
 “the famed Leader of the METHODISTS, &c., l. 888, *ante*, p. 240 :  
 Mr. JOHN WESLEY,” is here dealt with at “Raising about them an affected cry  
 great length (*ib.*, 322-406), this exposure That ends in nothing but a ‘Who  
 being indeed the object of the expansion but I?’”

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LETTER VI.

BY “Reformation from the *Church of Rome*”  
 We mean, “from Faults and Errors,” I presume.  
 Against her Truths to prosecute a War  
 Is protestant Aversion push'd too far ;  
 In them, should “Ease” and “Honour” not attend  
 The fair Profession, one should be her Friend.

She thinks that *Christ* has given to His Bride,  
 His Holy Church, an Ever-present Guide ;  
 By Whose Divine Assistance she has thought  
 That Miracles sometimes were really wrought ; 10  
 That by the Virtue which His Gifts inspire  
 Great Saints and Martyrs have adorn'd her Quire.  
 Now, say the worst that ever can be said  
 Of that Corruption which might overspread  
 This Church in gen'ral ; cast at her the Stone  
 They who possess Perfection in their own ;—  
 Yet, were instructive Volumes to enlarge  
 On bright Exceptions to the gen'ral Charge.

They that love Truth, wherever it is found,  
Would joy to see it ev'n in *romish* Ground ; 20  
Where, if Corruption grew to such a Size,  
The more illustrious must Examples rise  
Of Life and Manners ;—these, you will agree,  
Are true Reformers, wheresoe'er they be.

Of all the Churches, justly loth to claim  
Exclusive Title to a Sacred Name,  
What one, I ask, has ever yet denied  
The Inspiration of the Promis'd Guide ?  
Our own—to which the Def'rence that is due  
Forbids no just Respect for others too— 30  
Believes, asserts, that what Reform she made  
Was not without the *Holy Spirit's* Aid.  
If to expect His Gifts, however great,  
Be popish and fanatical Deceit,  
She in her Offices of ev'ry Kind  
Has also been fanatically blind.  
What Form of her composing can we trace  
Without a Pray'r for His Unstinted Grace ?  
Taught by the Sacred Volumes to infer  
A Saviour's Promise reaching down to her, 40  
Greatly she values the recording Books ;  
But for fulfilling in herself she looks.

That she may always think aright and act  
By God's Good Spirit, is her pray'd-for Fact,—

- 37, 38. *What Form, of her composing, throughout the year, though it does not  
can we trace conclude all our Special Forms of Prayer.*  
*Without a Pray'r for His unstinted Grace?* 43, 44. *That she may always think aright  
and act*  
I suppose there is here an especial allusion to *By God's Good Spirit, is her pray'd for*  
the invocation, taken from *and Corinthians* *Fact.*  
xiii. 14 : "The grace of our Lord Jesus *See the Collect for the Ninth Sunday after*  
Christ, &c.," which concludes our Order *Trinity.* "Grant to us, Lord, we beseech

Without His Grace confessing, as she ought,  
 Her Inability of Act or Thought.  
 Nor does she fear fanatical Pretence,  
 When asking Aid in a sublimer Sense.  
 Where she records amongst the martyr'd Host  
 A "Stephen, fillèd with the Holy Ghost," 50  
 She prays for that same Plenitude of Aid  
 By which the Martyr for his Murd'ers pray'd ;  
 That she like him, in what she undergoes,  
 May love and bless her persecuting Foes.

Did but one Spark of so Supreme a Grace  
 Burn in the Breast, when Preaching is the Case,  
 How would a Priest, unpersecuted, dare  
 To treat, when mounted on a sacred Chair,  
 A Church of *Christ*, or any single Soul  
 By Will enlisted on the *Christian* Roll, 60  
 With such a prompt and contumelious Ire  
 As Love nor Blessing ever could inspire ?

Altho' untouch'd with a Celestial Flame,  
 How could an *English* Priest mistake his Aim,—  
 So far forget the Maxims that appear  
 Throughout his Church's Liturgy so clear ;  
 Wherein the Spirit's ever Constant Aid  
 Without a feign'd Distinction is display'd,—  
 Without a rash attempting to explain  
 By Limitations foolish and profane 70  
 When, and to whom, to what Degree and End,

thee, the spirit to think and do always  
 such things as be rightful ; that we, who  
 cannot do anything that is good without  
 thee, may by thee be enabled to live accord-  
 ing to thy will ; through Jesus Christ our  
 Lord."

49 seqq. *Where she records, among the  
 martyr'd Host, &c.* "Grant, O Lord,

that . . . being filled with the Holy Ghost,  
 [we] may learn to love and bless our per-  
 secutors by the example of thy first Martyr  
 Saint Stephen." *Collect for St. Stephen's  
 Day.* This Collect, based upon a Collect  
 in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great  
 and in the Sarum Missal, is stated to have  
 been composed in 1662.

God's Graces, Gifts and Pow'rs were to extend,—  
 So far withdrawn that Christians must allow  
 Of nothing "extra-ordinary" now,—  
 The vain Distinction which the World has found,  
 To fix an unintelligible Bound  
 To Gospel Promise,—equally Sublime,  
 Nor limited by any other Time  
 Than that, when Want of Faith, when earthly Will,  
 Shall hinder Heav'n's Intentions to fulfil? 80

If, not confining any promis'd Pow'rs,  
 The *Romish* Church be faulty, what is ours?  
 Does our own Church in her ordaining Day,  
 Does any consecrating Bishop say,  
 When on the future Priest his Hand is laid :  
 "Receive the Spirit's *ordinary Aid*?"  
 Do awful Words, "Receive the Holy Ghost!"  
 Imply that He abides in *Books* the most,—  
 Books, which the Spirit Who first rul'd the Hand,  
 They say themselves, must teach to understand? 90

His Inspiration, without Limits too,  
 All Churches own, whatever Preachers do ;  
 Not even Miracles, tho' set aside  
 In private Books, has any Church denied.—  
 How weak the Proofs which this Discourse has brought  
 To justify the fashionable Thought,  
 That Gospel Promises of any Kind  
 By Spirit or by Scripture are confin'd  
 To apostolic or to later Times,  
 May be the Subject of succeeding Rimes. 100

87. "Receive the Holy Ghost!" "Re- tion of our hands." Ordination Service.  
 ceive the Holy Ghost for the Office and 100. *May be the Subject of succeeding*  
 Work of a Priest in the Church of God, *Rimes*. See the *Introductory Note* to the  
 now committed unto thee by the Imposi- following piece.



## A STRICTURE

ON THE REV. MR. WARBURTON'S *DOCTRINE OF GRACE*.

[It is not very easy to determine the relation in date between these verses and the preceding series of *Familiar Epistles*. In a note to *Remains*, ii. 546, Canon Parkinson says that in these *Epistles* Byrom intimates that the subject might be continued in "succeeding rhymes," and that he probably carried out this intention in the present *Stricture*. A reference to l. 100 of *Letter VI.* will, however, show that the subject which Byrom there proposes to treat on another occasion, is the insufficiency of the evidence adduced by the author of *The Doctrine of Grace* in proof of his position, that certain of the gifts promised to the Church were intended to be limited to the apostolic or to any particular age. Now, the *Stricture* obviously deals with a part of Warburton's argument (viz., that concerning the true idea of the inspiration of Scripture) which he treats in *Letter III.*, and shows no intention of resuming. I am accordingly inclined to doubt whether the *Stricture* constitutes the fulfilment of the half-promise at the close of the *Familiar Epistles*. If, however, it was composed after them, what are we to conclude to have been its particular purpose, since it does little beyond repeating their argument, and repeating it partly in the same phraseology? To this question I can suggest no answer, except perhaps that Byrom was not a writer who shrank from repeating himself. And the possibility of course remains, that the shorter piece was written first, and the longer afterwards. At any rate, it was a quotation from Warburton's *Sermon* in a note to the *Stricture* (stanza v.) on which Law commented in the last production composed by him before his death in 1761, under the title of *An Humble, Earnest and Affectionate Address to the Clergy*. In this work Law had endeavoured to impress upon his readers as "the one thing needful" the reviving and cherishing the Divine life in the soul by the immediate and continual inspiration of God's Holy Spirit, and had warned them against making a perverse use of those very Scriptures which were their best guide to such a life, by adopting the absurd view of Warburton (cf. Overton, *William Law*, 430-1). Subsequently, in the enlarged treatise on *The Doctrine of Grace* published

in 1762, Warburton appended to the passage extracted by Byrom and Law (cited *ante*, in the note to ll. 33 *seqq.* of *Letter III.* of the *Familiar Epistles*) the following note :

"The late Mr. William Law, who obscured a good understanding by the fumes of the rankest enthusiasm, and depraved a sound judgment, still further, by the prejudices he took up against all sobriety in religion, seized the above paragraph, as he found it detached from the discourse in a quotation made of it by an ingenious writer ; and thus descants upon it : 'Dr. Warburton's doctrine is this, that the inspired books of the New Testament is' [?] 'the Comforter or *Spirit of truth and Illuminator*, which is meant by Christ's being always with the Church. Let us therefore put the Doctor's doctrine into the letter of the text, which will best show how true or false it is.' Christ saith, 'If any man love me, my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him.' That is, according to the Doctor's theology, certain books of Scripture will come to him, and make their abode with him ; for he expressly confineth the 'constant abode' and 'supreme illumination' of God to the holy Scriptures. Therefore (horrible to say) God's inward presence, his OPERATING POWER OF LIFE and light in our souls, his dwelling in us, and we in him, is something of a lower nature, that only may occasionally happen, and has less of God in it than the dead letter of Scripture, which alone is the 'constant abode' and 'supreme illumination. Miserable fruits of a paradoxical genius !'—*A humble, earnest and affectionate Address to the Clergy*, pp. 69, 70.

"This poor man, whether misled by his fanaticism or his spleen, has here fallen into a trap which his folly laid for his malice. In the discourse from whence the paragraph so severely handled is taken, I treated distinctly of these two branches of the Holy Spirit ; 1. As he *illuminates the understanding* under the title of the *Spirit of truth*. 2. As he *rectifies the will* under the title of the *Comforts* : by the first of which he *establishes our faith*, and by the second he *perfects our obedience*.

"Now, it is under the first branch in which this obnoxious paragraph is found" [*sic*]. "So that common sense and common honesty require, that when I say, 'the constant abode and supreme illumination of the Holy Spirit is in the Sacred Scriptures of the New Testament,' I should be understood to mean, that he is there only as the *illuminator of the understanding*, the *establisher of faith*. But Mr. Law applies my words to the other branch of his office as the *rectifier of the Will*, the *perfecter of obedience* ; and so makes my observation nonsense in order to arraign it of impiety."

Undoubtedly, while *Book I.* of the treatise on *The Doctrine of Grace* (1762) discusses the operations of the Divine Spirit as the Spirit and Guide of Truth, and under this head discusses the subject of the inspiration of the Scriptures of the New Testament, *Book II.* treats of the operations of the same Spirit as the Comforter Who purifies and supports the Will, and, though not by the miraculous methods put forward by Roman Catholics and "Fanatics," converts men to a life of sanctity

and virtue. The attacks upon Jacob Behmen and his "illuminated Disciple," Law, contained in *Book II., chaps. v. and vi.* of Warburton's treatise, were probably not contained in the original *Sermon*, and need not therefore be further referred to in the present connexion.

It hence appears that the following stanzas were written *before* the publication in 1762 of Warburton's enlarged treatise, and that the designation of the latter in the heading under which they appear in A as "Bishop of Gloucester" (to which dignity Warburton was not promoted till 1760) is probably incorrect.]

## I.

WRITING or Scripture, Sacred or profane,  
Can only render History more plain  
Of what was done or said by God or Man,  
Since the Creation of the World began.  
Tho' ev'ry Word in Sacred Page be true,  
To give *Account* is all that it can do.

## II.

Now an Account of Things, as done or said,  
Is not a *living* Letter, but a *dead*,—  
A Picture only, which may represent,  
But cannot give us, what is really meant. 10  
He that has got a Map into his Hand  
May use the *Name*, but knows it is not *Land*.

## III.

So, in *the Bible* when we come to look,  
(That is, by way of Eminence, *The Book*)  
We must not fancy that it can bestow  
The Things themselves which we desire to know.

6. To give ACCOUNT is all that it can do. Cf. *Familiar Epistles*, ii. 71 seq. 14. By way of Eminence. Κατ' ἐξοχήν; par excellence.

It can but yield, however true and plain,  
Verbal Directions how we may obtain.

IV.

Tho' a Prescription be directly sure  
Upon the Patient's taking it to cure, 20  
No one imagines that the worded Bill  
Becomes itself the Remedy for Ill.  
The Med'cines taken, as the Bill directs,  
Procure the salutiferous Effects.

V.

Who, then, can place in any written Code  
The Holy Ghost's, the Comforter's, Abode?  
"Constant Abode,—supreme Illumination,"—  
What Copy can be *This*, or what Translation?  
The Spirit's Dwelling, by th' attesting Pen  
Of all th' inspir'd, is in the Hearts of Men. 30

VI.

Were *Books* his constant Residence indeed,  
What must the Millions do who cannot *read*?  
When they who can so vary in their Sense,  
What must distinguish true from false Pretence?  
If they must follow where the learnèd guide,  
What diff'rent Spirits in one Book abide!

21. *The worded Bill.* The written prescription. The Elisabethan use of "bill" or any written document hardly requires illustration.

27. "*Constant Abode,—supreme Illumination.*" Here A cites in a note from p. 39 of *The Doctrine of Grace*, &c., by the Bishop of Gloucester: "For though, according to the Promise, his ordinary Influence occasionally assists the faithful of all Ages, yet his constant Abode and supreme Illumination is in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament." See note to *Letter* iii. 33 *seqq.*, *ante*. Byrom must have quoted from the original Sermon.

33. *They who can.* Who can read.

## VII.

Genius for *Paradox*, however bright,  
 Cannot well justify this Oversight.  
 Better to own the Truth, for the Truth's Sake,  
 Than to persist in such a gross Mistake! 40  
 Books are but Books : th' illuminating Part  
 Depends on God's good Spirit in the *Heart*.

## VIII.

"The Comforter," *Christ* said, "will come again,  
 Abide with, dwell in"—not your Books, but—"you."  
 Just as absurd an Ink-and-Paper Throne  
 For God's Abode as one of Wood and Stone!  
 If to adore an Image be Idolatry,  
 To deify a Book is *Bibliolatry*.

37. *Genius for PARADOX.* Oddly and poignancy of *paradoxes* ;" and cites enough, in the *Preface to The Doctrine of Grace* Warburton describes some of the full of moral wisdom, *Proverbs*, xxvi. 4-5. sages of ancient times, and Solomon in 43. "The Comforter," &c. See note to *primis*, as having "found a necessity of *Familiar Epistles*, Letter I., 58 seqq., ante. giving to their moral maxims the seasoning 48. *Bibliolatry*. See note *ib.*, iii. 62, ante.

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AN ANSWER TO SOME ENQUIRIES  
 CONCERNING THE AUTHOR'S OPINION OF A SERMON  
 PREACHED AT ——— UPON THE OPERATION  
 OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

[Very possibly, though the conjecture cannot be taken as proved, the Sermon censured in these stanzas was that preached by Warburton at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, and afterwards amplified by him in his treatise, published in 1762, on *The Doctrine of Grace, or The Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the insults of Infidelity and the abuses of Fanaticism* (cf. *ante*, pp. 247-8). The allusion to the sounding-board over the pulpit, adorned with the traditional emblem of the Holy Spirit,

will not help us in settling the identity of the sermon in question.—As to the common use of the sounding-board in the Georgian era cf. Mr. Abbey's *Essay on Church Fabrics and Services* in Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (new edition), p. 415.

The writer of the criticism of the B edition of Byrom's *Poems* in the *Monthly Review* for October, 1773 (vol. xlix. pp. 241 *seqq.*), selects this poem for citation, observing: "The following poem, from the remarkable happiness and beauty of the concluding stanza, as well as from the truth and propriety that runs through the whole, is entitled to every compliment."]

## I.

"SAY to the Sermon?"—Why, you all were by,  
And heard its whole Contents, as well as I.  
Without discussing what the Preacher said,  
I'll tell you, Sirs, what came into my Head.

## II.

While he went on, and learnèdly perplext  
The genuine Meaning of his chosen Text,  
I cast my Eyes above him, and explor'd  
The Dove-like Form upon the Sounding-board.

## III.

That Bird, thought I, was put there as a Sign  
What Kind of Spirit guides a good Divine, 10  
Such as at first taught Preachers to impart  
That pure and simple Gospel to the Heart ;—

## IV.

A perfect, plain, intelligible Rule,  
Without the dark Distinctions of the School  
That, with a nice, sophistical Disguise,  
Hide the clear Precepts from the People's Eyes.

8. *The Dove-like Form upon the Sounding-board.* See *Introductory Note.*

15. *Nice.* Over-refining.

## V.

Whatever Doctrine in one Age was true  
 Must needs be so in all succeeding too ;  
 Tho' Circumstance may change, its inward Aim  
 Thro' ev'ry outward State is still the same. 20

## VI.

No thinking Christian can be pleas'd to hear  
 Men who pretend to make the Scripture clear,  
 With low Remarks upon the Letter play,  
 And take the Spirit of it quite away.

## VII.

Be Time, or Place, or Person, or what will,  
 Urg'd in Support of such a wretched Skill,  
 It all amounts but to a vain Pretence,  
 That robs the Gospel of its real Sense.

## VIII.

Taught by the SAVIOUR and by holy Men,  
 'Tis now the very same that it was then, 30  
 Not to be alter'd by unhallow'd Pains.  
 The World may vary, but the Truth remains.

## IX.

In consecrated Phrases one would think  
 That Priests and Pulpits were not made to sink.  
 Profaner Wits can do it that Disgrace ;—  
 What need of *holy Orders* in the Case?

22. The Scriptures.—B.

34. *Sink*, v. tr. = lower. Cf. l. 39.

X.

The modish, critical Haranguer heard  
May be admir'd,—may be perhaps preferr'd,—  
Who sinks the Dictates of the Sacred Page  
Down to the Maxims of the present Age.

40

XI.

But o'er his sounding Canopy why bring  
The Harmless Dove to spread Its Hov'ring Wing?  
How in the Church by such a Shape exprest  
Fulness of Brain and Emptiness of Breast!

XII.

Of Heads so fatten'd and of Hearts so starv'd  
A different Emblem should, methinks, be carv'd:  
The *Owl of Athens*, and not *Sion's Dove*,—  
The *Bird of Learning*, not the *Bird of Love*.

38. *Preferr'd.* Promoted.      mystical conception of religion Byrom frequently dwells on the vanity of mere human learning, and on the obscuration of plain, simple truth by a "posse of classics." (Cf. 43. *How in the Church*, &c. The doubly elliptical construction is awkward. "How (ill are) expressed, &c."      learning, and on the obscuration of plain, simple truth by a "posse of classics." (Cf. 48. THE BIRD OF LEARNING, NOT THE BIRD OF LOVE. In accordance with his      *An Epistle to J. Bl—k—n, Esq.*, ll. 8-9; ante, vol. i. p. 478.)

## ON PREACHING;

### AN EPIGRAM.

[I have transferred this epigram from the incongruous position assigned to it in A and B at the end of vol. ii., to the present place, into which it seems more naturally to fall. There is, however, not the least likelihood that it was launched against Warburton, who had no sympathy with Shaftesbury's view of religion.]

00



THE specious Sermons of a learned Man  
 Are little else but *Flashes in the Pan* ;  
 The mere Haranguing upon what they call  
 "Morality" is *Powder without Ball* ;  
 But He who preaches with a Christian Grace  
*Fires* at our Vices, and the *Shot* takes Place.

6. *Takes Place.* Cf. note, p. 70, *ante*.

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FOUR EPISTLES TO THE REV. MR. L—,  
 LATE VICAR OF BOWDON, UPON THE MIRACLE  
 AT THE FEAST OF PENTECOST.

[After some hesitation I have thought it on the whole more convenient to insert these *Epistles* in the present volume, in the place to which in order of time they seem to belong. I had at one time intended to print these effusions, as well as the next piece, near the close of vol. i. of the present edition, in juxtaposition with other efforts in textual criticism in which Byrom was led to indulge, partly by accidents of training, partly by intellectual peculiarities which had no direct connexion with his religious views. His tendencies as a scholar and his religious notions, however, inevitably intertwined with one another; and inasmuch as the view of the Pentecostal Miracle urged in these stanzas is also presented in those on *Whitsunday* (*ante*, p. 44), and in the *Remarks on Middleton concerning Prophecy* (*ante*, p. 225), I have preferred to print them here.

The date, or rather the dates, of the first two of these *Epistles*, are fortunately noted by the writer himself. Baguley in Cheshire was the seat of John Houghton, whose first wife Mary was daughter of Joseph Byrom of Manchester and Byrom Hall. She was the younger sister of Elizabeth, John Byrom's wife and first cousin. (See *Remains*, ii. 386 note; and cf. the *Byrom Pedigrees*.)

The Rev. Peter Lancaster, sometime Vicar of Bowdon in Cheshire, to whom these *Epistles* are addressed, was of Christ Church, Oxford, whence he graduated M.A. in 1724. He was a descendant of an old

Cheshire family. (See a mention of his seventeenth century namesake in Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, 1880, ii. 33.) He published in 1722 a *Chronological Essay on the IXth Chapter of Daniel*, and in 1730 a *Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, by the Rev. Charles Daubuz, Vicar of Brotherton, Yorkshire, new modell'd and abridged by himself. A copy of the latter work in quarto, and another of Daubuz' unabridged *Commentary* in fol. (1720), are in Byrom's Library (see *Catalogue*, p. 65).

In the *Remains* (ii. 580 *seqq.*) is preserved Mr. Lancaster's reply to the *Third* of these *Epistles*, from which I have quoted in my notes to it. The worthy Vicar appears to have written two previous letters to Byrom, in reply to *Epistles I. and II.* respectively; but they are no longer extant, although A and B quote from them in their notes to *Epistles II. and III.* (cf. *ib.*)

In *Epistle I.*, ll. 25–6, Byrom explicitly states that the paradoxical interpretation of the New Testament account of the Miracle advanced and defended by him is not his own, but was derived by him from Jacob Böhme. Possibly, he had in mind the ideas developed by the Theosopher in his *Mysterium Magnum* concerning the Universal Language of mankind,—how, after the Deluge this language was split up into a number of particular languages, and how in the latter days these tongues will be re-united by the Spirit of Christ, differences of religion being thus made to cease, and the whole world being converted to faith in its Saviour. (See J. Hamberger, *Die Lehre des deutschen Philosophen Jakob Böhme*, &c., Munich, 1844, pp. 294–6.) But there may possibly be some passage in Böhme's writings referring more directly to the Pentecostal Miracle, which suggested Byrom's (I think, quite inadmissible) interpretation of a familiar text.

As early as August 13th, 1739, Byrom told Dr. Andrew, by a chance meeting with whom in Somerset Gardens he was detained from conversing with Law, that the "phrase 'gift of tongues' was not meant for foreign languages, that Peter was illiterate, spoke but his own language at the Pentecost, that the miracle was in their hearing him; he said that was quite a new interpretation, did any of the expositors say so? I told him, yes, they were divided upon it, but that it was very plainly so; that for 300 years the Christians were objected to as illiterate; that St. Paul, who was thought the most learned, had his interpreter Titus,

whom he wanted at Troas, and could not preach though a door opened." (*Remains*, ii. 264-5.)]

## EPISTLE I.

Baguley, August 12, 1756.

## I.

OUR Folks gone a-visiting, Reverend Sir,  
 Having left me at home here, less able to stir,  
 I am thinking on Matters that lovingly pass'd  
 Where the Squire of the House and I visited last,—  
 At the Vicar's of *Bowdon*, old Friend of us two  
 And a lover of Learning fair, honest and true ;  
 Especially such as shall make to appear  
 Any Passage of Scripture more easy and clear.

## II.

The Scripture was writ, and is oft understood,  
 By Persons unlearn'd, but pious and good, 10  
 Who have much better Helps than mere Learning can yield,  
 Which may yet be of use in its own proper Field ;—  
 If it be but to mend its own Faults in a Brother,  
 And correct in one Man the Mistakes of another ;  
 Or to combat our Scruples and fix a true Thought,  
 When the Head shall confirm what the Heart has been taught.

## III.

One Thing, I remember, that fell in our Way,  
 Was the speaking in Tongues on the *Pentecost* Day ;

2. *Less able to stir.* Byrom was now in his sixty-sixth year.

4. *The Squire of the House.* John Houghton. See *Introductory Note*.

5. *At the Vicar's of Bowdon.* (Byrom's spelling is "Bowden," but I have adopted the more correct form.) In August, 1756,

Mr. Lancaster was still Vicar of Bowdon, and I have therefore struck out the qualification "late" which is illogically inserted before his designation in A and B.

18. *The speaking in Tongues on the PENTECOST Day.* See *Acts*, chapter ii.

Which our Friend the Divine had conceiv'd in a Light  
That, however so thought, does not seem to be right. 20  
All the Comments, 'tis true, that one ever has met,  
Concur with his Notions about it ; but yet  
The Mistake is so plain that I wish by some Means  
To obtain his Review of those wonderful Scenes.

IV.

It is not my Thought ; for I first was appris'd  
Of the Thing by a *Jacob*, too greatly despis'd ;  
Dipping into whose Writings, which little I knew,  
Some Expression like this was presented to View :

24. *His Review.* A reconsideration by him.

26. *A JACOB, too greatly despis'd.* See *Introductory Note.* Byrom became acquainted with the writings of Jacob Böhme through Law, who had himself become acquainted with them comparatively late in life, and at second hand (see J. H. Overton, *William Law* (1881), pp. 179–80, and cf. *Remains*, ii. 363). By the time when these *Epistles* were written, however, Byrom was an assiduous student of Böhme, as is shown by the number of his works (including the *Mysterium Magnum*) and of publications concerning him and his theosophy contained in Byrom's Library. (See *Catalogue*, pp. 20–1, *et al.*) A list of these books would illustrate the fact that in the seventeenth century the writings of Jacob "Behmen" had attracted no slight attention in England (for some further illustrations of this fact see *Worthington's Diary and Correspondence*, vol. ii. Part II., edited for the Chetham Society by the President, Mr. R. C. Christie, pp. 291–3, and *notes*) ; whereas the earlier half of the eighteenth was less favourable to his fame

in this country. Nor is this surprising, when not only the prevailing tendencies of English thought, but the general tone of English religious literature in the latter period are remembered. Warburton thought him a "pretender to inspiration;" John Wesley called his writings "unintelligible jargon" (*Overton*, u.s., p. 184); and Johnson on being told that Law had spoken of Jacob Böhme as having seen "unutterable things" observed that, if so, he would have resembled St. Paul still more had he not attempted to utter them. (*Remains*, ii. 113, and *note.*) Byrom himself had written in 1742: "I have a respect for a man that honestly understands a valuable author, though never so difficult to myself. Jacob Behmen I believe to be such a one, but hardly that his books will become fashionable in my time, any more than Mr. Law's, who is to me more intelligible than any other English writer that I recollect." (*Ib.*, ii. 311.) The *Memoirs of the Life, Death, and Wonderful Writings of Jacob Behmen* by Byrom's friend and literary imitator, Francis Okely, were not published till 1780.

"*All Languages spoken by PETER in one ;*"—  
 A Truth which the Moment I enter'd upon,  
 All the Force of Simplicity, Fitness and Fact  
 Extorted assent that I could not retract.

30

## V.

If the honest old Vicar, our visited Friend,  
 To *St. Luke's* own Account will be pleas'd to attend,  
 I cannot but think that the current Conceit  
 Will yield to Solution so clear and complete  
 Of a Number of difficult Points, that arise  
 Upon viewing the Text with unprejudic'd Eyes ;—  
 If "*Speakers*" were more than Apostles, and "*spoken*"  
 But to one in fifteen was a sensible Token.

40

## VI.

For the Names to that Number, if rightly I count  
 By a Baguley Bible, of Nations amount ;  
 Who all understood what a *Peter* or *John*,  
 Or whoever he will, was discoursing upon,—  
 And to all at one Time ; for how plain to be seen  
 That Persons nor Place could admit of fifteen ;  
 When *Parthians*, and *Medes*, *Elamites*, and the rest,  
 Must be too intermix'd to be singly address'd !

## VII.

"Are not these," said the Men, the devout of each Land,  
 "*Galileans* that speak, whom we all understand ?—"

50

35. *The current Conceit.* The current conception of the account, or way of understanding it. them to have conveyed its meaning to but one out of every fifteen hearers.

39, 40. *If Speakers*, &c. If we suppose those who spoke to the Pentecostal assembly to have been more in number than the Apostles, and that which was spoken by 42. *Nations.* I.e. those mentioned in *Acts*, ii. 9-11. These amount to fifteen, omitting "*Jews*," as already mentioned, and "*proselytes*." 49 *seqq.* "*Are not these*," &c. "And

As much as to say,—“By what wonderful Pow’rs  
Does the Tongue *Galilean* become, to us, ours?”  
While the good were so justly astonish’d, the bad,  
Whose Hearts were unopen’d, cried out, “They are mad.”  
Unaccountable Charge, if we do not recall  
That in one single Tongue the Apostles speak all!

VIII.

For separate Speakers and Tongues, it is clear,  
Good and bad without Madness might equally hear ;  
And surprise in the bad would be equally keen,  
How illiterate Men could speak all the fifteen. 60  
But the Miracle, wrought in the simplest of Ways,  
In both good and bad well accounts for Amaze.  
One was sensibly touch’d with a Gift so Divine ;  
One stupidly rais’d the Reproach of “new Wine.”

IX.

When *St. Peter* stood up, and to all the whole Throng  
Show’d the Truth in a Sermon so good and so long,  
But to one fifteenth Part was it only then shown,—  
To the worst, the *Jerusalem* Scoffers alone ;  
Whilst all the good Strangers, not knowing one Word,  
Stood unedified by ?—This is greatly absurd. 70  
God pour’d out his Spirit—that answers all Mock,—  
And spake by *St. Peter* to all his whole Flock.

65 And to all that great throng.—B.

they were all amazed, and marvelled, saying one to another, Behold, are not all those which speak Galileans? And how hear we every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born.” (*Ib.*, ii. 7–8.)

54. “*They are mad.*” Or rather : 68. *The JERUSALEM Scoffers.* The reference is not, I suppose, to the Jews of Jerusalem as having reviled our Lord in his passion, but to the “mockers”—probably in the main Temple cockneys—of  
“Others mocking said, These men are full of new wine.” (*Ib.*, v. 13.)

67. *But to one fifteenth Part.* Viz., “the *Acts*, v. 13. See note to l. 54, *ante*.

## X.

The vulgar Objection which commenting Strain  
 Has made to a Thing so exceedingly plain,  
 Is: "The Miracle then would not be in the Speaker,  
 It would be in the Hearers."—Now, what can be weaker?  
 For the Gift in this case had a twofold Respect,  
 And must needs be, in both to produce its Effect,—  
 To account for the Fact, which the Comments forgot,  
 Why the pious could hear what the Mockers could not. 80

## XI.

It is nowhere affirm'd that th' Apostles acquir'd  
 Any Tongue but their own, tho' Divinely inspir'd.  
*St. Peter, St. John* are soon mention'd again,  
 And describ'd as unlearn'd and ignorant Men.—  
 But enough,—or too much! For the Shortness of Time  
 Gives a hint to set Bounds to th' Extension of Rime.  
 Our Friend will acknowledge, tho' hasty the Letter,  
 This Question's Solution,—or give us a better.

## XII.

So I shall not here touch upon *Hebrew* and *Greek*;  
 Where a *Rabbi* so able, if minded to seek, 90

81, 82. *It is nowhere affirm'd that th'  
 Apostles acquir'd  
 Any Tongue but their own.*

Certainly, such a deduction from the generally accepted interpretation of the narrative of the Pentecostal miracle in *Acts* ii. is nowhere stated or implied in the New Testament (cf. *Epistle IV.*, 90-2). Even in Neander's rather wordy account of the "supernatural operations which proceeded from the new creative power of Christianity" and contributed to its

early spread (*Church History*, sec. i. *ad in.*), I can find no assumption of a continuous polyglot power bestowed upon the Apostles.

84. *Describ'd as unlearn'd and ignorant Men.* See *Acts*, iv. 13: "Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John, and perceived that they were unlearned and ignorant men, they marvelled," &c.

89. *I shall not here touch upon HEBREW and GREEK.* This side of the question dealt with in *Epistles III.* and *IV.*

May observe other Points in which Learning, that makes  
Many Things clear enough, has occasion'd Mistakes.  
Whether this be one Instance, I only desire  
That a suitable Leisure may prompt to enquire ;  
For to me it appears, that the Miracle done  
Was all by one Language, as clear as the Sun.

---

EPISTLE II.

November 30, 1756.

I.

MANY Thanks have been order'd this Day to attend  
The Receipt of your Letter, Dear Vicar and Friend ;  
Which at first, being left to your Leisure to frame,  
Was sure to be welcome, whenever it came.  
The Point which the Muse had a Mind to propose  
In her free-spoken Rimes, you have handled in Prose.  
All fair on both Sides ; because, say it or sing,  
Truth alone in the Case is the principal Thing.

II.

But I cannot but marvel, that much better Sight  
Than my own should not see so Meridian a Light 10  
As that of the speaking at Pentecost Time  
By the Spirit of God to the good of each Clime  
In one single Tongue, by that Spirit inspir'd,  
Whose Assistance did all that could then be requir'd ;

8 In this affair truth is the principal thing.—B.

2. *Your Letter.* Of this letter from Mr. and to the following *Epistle* must have been  
Lancaster to Byrom there is no trace, but extracted from it by Byrom or by some copy-  
the passages reproduced in the notes to this ist to whose *MS.* the editor of A had access.

P P



Whose Power, it is certain, could make itself known,  
By a Number of Tongues or by one Tongue alone.

## III.

So needless the Many, so simple the One,  
That I wonder what Judgment can hesitate on,  
Or a learned Enquiry that finds, if it seek,  
That the Tongue might be one in Construction of Greek ;      20  
Which, as Comma takes Place, as old *Gregory* said,—  
*Nazianzen* I think—either way may be read.  
“They speak in our Tongues ;” or, as Crystalline clear  
The Fact is to my Understanding, “We hear.”

## IV.

I sent you some Reasons from *Baguley* why  
The Tongue was but one, which you choose to pass by,  
And to comment *St. Luke* in a many-tongu'd Way  
That darkens the Light which I took to be Day.  
And Day it is still ; for Account that you give  
“So plain and so obvious” is Water in Sieve ;      30  
Which seems to be something at first-looking View,  
But by Holes “plain and obvious” it quickly runs through.

## V.

“The Tongues which appear'd, and which sat upon each,  
“All cloven and fiery,” you argue, “may teach,

21. Which, as Comma takes place,—as  
old GREGORY said  
(NAZIANZEN, I think,)—either way may  
be read.

This courageous commentary on the passage in *Acts*, ii. 11 : “ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα τοῦ Θεοῦ,” is actually to be found in *Gregor. Nazianzen. Opera* (Paris, 1630), i. 715-6 (*Oratio* xlix.). Its argument is, that if a

comma is placed between the words “ἀκούομεν” and “λαλούντων” “the miracle was rather in those who heard than in those who spake ;” while, if no comma is inserted between those words, the ordinary interpretation must be preferred. Cf. notes to *Epistle III.*, ll. 17 and 21, *infra*.  
33 *segg.* *The Tongues which appear'd*, &c. “The cloven Tongues like Fire, which sat upon each of the Persons mentioned,

"And by Notice symbolical make it discern'd,  
 "That they spake in such Tongues as they never had learn'd."  
 Need I tell an Hebræan, that "Tongue" is the same  
 In Relation to Fire, as the English Word "Flame  
 Which appears to be cloven;" and Proof that is spun  
 From the Tongues or the Flames—has too much of the Pun? 40

VI.

When you ask, "Pray, what Reason can else be assign'd  
 "For Tongues?" I ask you, "Pray, what Reason for Wind?"  
 Not to shun a fair Question; but "Tongue" being "Flame"  
 May have answer'd already your questioning Aim.  
 I think that an Air, that a Flame from Above,  
 Both is and betokens the Life and the Love;—  
 Which if Christians were blest with, one Language would do,  
 And, their whole Body fill'd with, there could not be two.

VII.

But let them be Symbols, the Tongues, if you will,  
 Of the Grace which the Spirit was pleas'd to instil,— 50  
 His Gift is as Good, if, in speaking their own,  
 Men made the same Truth in all Languages known.  
 This Effect you will grant the Good Gift to intend.  
 Now, supposing two Ways of attaining one End,  
 Is that Explication less likely or just,  
 Which takes the more simple, more plainly august?

were a plain symbolical Notice, that by Apostles and Disciples." (*Mr. Lancaster's (first) letter to the Author.*)  
 baptised, they should be endowed for the 37 seqq. Need I tell an Hebræan, &c.  
 Propagation of the Gospel with divers As to this point see *Epistle III.*, 25 seqq.  
 Languages. If this is not the Case, pray and note.  
 what Reason can be assigned why there 48. *Their whole Body fill'd with.* If their  
 should be an Appearance of fiery Tongues whole body were filled with these (Divine  
 divided, and sitting upon each of the Life and Love).

## VIII.

Your Account is quite new in one Thing that I meet,  
 That is, "That the Speakers went into the Street,  
 Or went out of the House to the Multitude met."  
 For of this going-out I have never read yet ;  
 Or, if ever I did, have forgotten the Book,  
 And can find nothing said in th' Account of St. Luke  
 But what should imply both profane and devout  
 Coming into the House, and not them to go out.

60

## IX.

May one ask what Authority, then, you have got  
 For the Scene and Succession which here you allot  
 To the speaking Disciples, in Number fifteen,  
 By an Order well-fancied, but not to be seen  
 In the *Acts* or elsewhere the New Testament through;  
 Nor — what I shall just give a Hint of to you,—  
 Will you find an Apostle, not even a *Paul*,  
 In a Tongue not his own ever preaching at all.

70

58. "*The Speakers went into the Street*," &c. "The Apostles and Disciples, upon the Rumour of what had happened being spread abroad by those of the House in which they were assembled, went out to the Multitude, whom such a Report had brought together; and then, in order, first one of them in one Language, and then another of them in another, and so on, till all the Languages of the Nations specified were used, addressed the Multitude; who, hearing illiterate Galileans speaking after such a Manner to each different class amongst them in their own proper Language in which they were born, were amazed and confounded." (*Mr. Lancaster's (first) letter to the Author.*) Not-

withstanding Byrom's cavils, I think it tolerably clear from *Acts*, ii. 6, that his correspondent was right in supposing that the multitude assembled outside the house, and that accordingly the Apostles went out to them. On the other hand, Byrom seems justified in describing, in the next stanza, the "order" or succession in which his correspondent supposed the Apostles to have addressed the multitude, first in one language and then in another, as "well fancied, but not to be seen in the New Testament."

70 *seqq.* Nor . . . will you find an Apostle, &c. See note to *Epistle I.*, 81-2, *ante*.

X.

I agree, that "the Mockers who mock'd with the Throng  
Knew only their vulgar, JERUSALEM Tongue."  
But when you say, further, what cannot but strike,  
"That the Nations, too, all understood it alike,"—  
Your order'd Confusion of speaking a Store  
To a Crowd out of Doors is more puzzling and more.  
In the midst of such Darkness if you can see Light,  
You need not complain of the Want of Eye-sight.

80

XI.

Thus, my dear old Acquaintance, I run thro' your Plan,  
And defend my Conviction as well as I can.  
As to what a *Bengelius* or *Wesley* may raise  
From twelve hundred and sixty prophetical Days,—

73 seqq. *The Mockers who mock'd with the Throng*, &c. "The Mockers appear to be such as understood the Jewish Language. St. Peter's Speech, beginning *Acts*, ii. 14, is addressed to all the Multitude; and, as being so, is spoke in the Jewish Language, which all of them, though of different Nations, understood." (*Mr. Lancaster's (first) letter to the Author.*)

77. *A Store*. An abundance or large quantity.

"Thou call'st for such store,  
When one is too many."

*Comedy of Errors*, iii. i. 34-5.

80. *The Want of Eye-sight*. "A much greater Complaint than this I have to make, and that is want of Eye-sight; for what appears to you clear as the Sun, does not appear to me clear at all." (*Mr. Lancaster's (first) letter to the Author.*)

83 seqq. *As to what a BENGELIUS or WESLEY may raise*, &c. "The Rev. John Wesley in his Explanation of the

New Testament, this year published, says that the 1260 prophetical Days in the Revelation are not as some suppose 1260, but 777 common years, and that Bengelius in his German Introduction has shewn this at Large. You understand the German Language, and therefore, if Bengelius be in your Libray, I desire in a few Lines you will let me know how he makes this out." (*Ib.*) J. A. Bengel's *Gnomon Novi Testamenti* (first edn., Tübingen, 1742) is not in the *Catalogue* of Byrom's Library. Our author's "skill in the German" (l. 86), of which there are few signs in his writings or *Remains* (see however ii. 281 and *post*, his correspondence with J. C. Jacobi) may have been acquired by him largely in order to read in the original Jacob Böhme, of whose spirit, by the way, something is thought to be perceptible in Bengel's commentaries. Byrom's library, however, contains other German books. Mr. Lancaster's question of course had no reference to the subject proper of these *Epistles*.

As the Book is not here, if it otherwise could,  
 My Skill in the *German* can do you no good ;  
 But the Part that you mention, my Author foretells  
 Will be put in our Tongue by a *Doctor at Wells*.

## XII.

So writes younger *Wesley*, who call'd here and din'd ;  
 And to him I subscrib'd for it ;— tho', in my Mind, 90  
 What Prophets have written, it's Learning in vain  
 Without some prophetic Gift to explain.  
 Nay, in Points that are clear, beyond any fair Doubt,  
 It is fifteen to one that the Learned are out.  
 This Ratio, I find, in one Instance is true ;  
 Excuse the Presumption !—

Dear Vicar, Adieu !

88. *Put in our Tongue by a DOCTOR at WELLS.* The only published English version of the *Gnomon* of which I know is Bandinel and Fausset's, in five vols. 8vo., Edinburgh, 1857. It is, however, possible that Byrom refers to the English Translation by John Robertson, M.D., of Bengel's *Introduction to his Exposition of the Apocalypse, with his Preface, and the greatest part of the Conclusion of it, and also his marginal Notes, &c.*, mentioned by Lowndes as "an esteemed work."

89. *So writes younger WESLEY.* Charles Wesley, with whom, as with his elder brother, Byrom maintained a kindly intercourse to the last, notwithstanding that both the brothers had long ceased to be in harmony with the teaching of Law.

## EPISTLE III.

## I.

I HOPE that the Vicar will pardon the Haste,  
 With which an Occasion once more is embrac'd  
 Of getting some Knowledge in Points that I seek  
 From one so well vers'd both in Hebrew and Greek,  
 In a Question of Fact where a friendly Pursuit  
 Has the Truth for its Object, and not the Dispute,—  
 Which, tho' Haste should encroach upon metrical Leisure,  
 Will be sure, if it rise, to be kept within Measure.

## II.

It would save much voluminous Labour sometimes,  
 If Disputes were tied down to dispassionate Rimes, 10  
 As well as to Reasons.— But, not to digress,  
 Having weigh'd his Responses both larger and less,  
 I resume the same Subject, same Freedom of Pen,  
 To entreat for some small Satisfaction again  
 In Relation to Points which, appearing absurd,  
 Have extorted poetical Favour the third.

## III.

Three Things are laid down in Prose Favour the last,  
 And Regard to his Thoughts would have none of them pass'd.  
 To his first it was paid, to his future shall be ;  
 But let "*Veritas magis amica*" be free ! — 20  
 First, "manage the Comma," says he, "how you will ;  
 "Speak or Hear, the same Sense will result from it still."

## 11 To reason.—B.

16. *Poetical Favour the third.* This third Epistle in rime. not?" (*Mr. Lancaster's (second) letter to the Author.*)

17. *Three things are laid down in Prose Favour the last.* Three things are laid down in the last (or second) prose letter, from Mr. Lancaster. 19. *To his first, &c.* Regard was paid to his first letter, and shall be paid to what he may write in future.

"You send me to Hebrew and Greek, and the Result of my enquiry is, however the Comma be managed by the Verse you mean (*Acts*, ii. 11), the Sense is the same ; and that שֶׁל when used by itself, never signifies Fire or Flame. And therefore, to bring this Dispute to a short issue, I desire your Answer to the following Query.

Were the new Tongues which our Saviour (*St. Mark*, xvi. 17) promised his Disciples should speak with, new Languages, *i.e.* such as they had never learned, or

Good: "ἀμφοῖν ὄντων φίλων ὁσίων προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀληθειαν. Plato himself, as is pointed out by Sir A. Grant in a note to the above passage, expresses the same sentiment with reference to Homer: ἀλλ' οὐ πρό γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ (*de Rep.*, x. p. 595 C.). 21. *First, "manage the Comma," says he, "how you will."* Cf. *ante*, note to

Yes, the Sense of the Context, "λαλούντων αὐτῶν;"  
 "While they speak in *their* Tongue, we all hear in *our* own."

## IV.

"The Hebrew word 'רִשְׁלִי,' or 'Tongue,' says he next,  
 "Whene'er it is us'd by itself in a Text,  
 Never signifies 'Fire,' never signifies 'Flame;'"  
 And believing it true, I say also the same.  
 But in joint "שֶׁן רִשְׁלִי," "Tongue of Fire," or "a Blaze,"  
 Foreign Languages claim no Symbolical Phrase. 30  
 Tho' "Tongue" may occasion Mistake to befall,  
 It has here no Relation to Language at all.

## V.

"Short Issue," he thinks, "the Dispute will admit,"  
 And desires me to answer this Query, to Wit:  
 "Were the 'Tongues,'—the 'new Tongues,' which a Promise  
 was made  
 That Disciples should speak, as *St. Mark* has display'd,—

*Epistle II.*, 21. Byrom, I suppose, would  
 interpunctuate: "ἀκούομεν, λαλούντων  
 αὐτῶν, ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις: when they  
 speak, we hear them in our own tongues."  
 But Mr. Lancaster is clearly right in saying  
 that this makes no difference to the argu-  
 ment, since, whether the speakers spoke  
 in one tongue or in many, each hearer  
 heard them in his own. Cf. v. 8: "καὶ  
 πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν εἰς ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ  
 διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγενήθημεν;" For the  
 rest, it is perfectly clear, as Mr. Lancaster  
 points out in his third letter (*Remains*, ii.  
 582) that "the words λαλούντων αὐτῶν in  
*Acts*, ii. 11, are not put absolutely, but are  
 governed of ἀκούομεν, as λαλούντων αὐτῶν  
 in v. 6 are of ἡκονον, and as αὐτῶν λαλούν-  
 των γλώσσαις are of the same verb in  
*Acts*, x. 46."

25 seqq. *The Hebrew Word*, &c. Cf.  
*ante*, *Epistle II.* 37. On the authority of  
 my learned colleague, Mr. L. Simmons,  
 I may state that, contrary to Byrom's  
 assertion, there is no etymological con-  
 nexion whatever between the Hebrew  
 words for "tongue" (*lashōn*) and for "fire"  
 (*ēsh*). The phrase "tongue of fire"  
 (*lashōn ēsh*) does indeed occur for "flame"  
 in *Isaiah*, v. 25; but "tongue" is there  
 clearly used as a figure applicable to the  
 shape and motion of a flame. (Gesenius  
 compares the Vergilian "*lambere visa  
 flamma comas*," and Mr. Simmons the  
 German "*das Feuer frisst*." Byrom's  
 comparison with the γλώσσαις ὡσεὶ πυρὸς  
 of *Acts*, ii. 3 is accordingly untenable.

36. As *St. Mark* has display'd. The  
 passage cited by Mr. Lancaster (*St. Mark*,

New Languages such as have never been got  
By learning before-hand to speak them, or not ?"  
To which for the present, till Somebody show  
That it must have this Meaning, my Answer is : "No." 40

VI.

Now, this, if he can, I could wish he would do,  
And prove the Construction "new Languages" true  
In the Sense that he means ; for, when all understood  
One Person who spake, it was really as good  
As if Numbers had spoken, or Promisèd Grace  
Were interpreted "Languages" here in this Place.  
The Effect was the same, and may answer the Pith  
Of all that his Second has favour'd me with.

VII.

Still difficult, then, if we carefully sift,  
Is the Vulgar Account of the *Pentecost* Gift, 50  
Which the Learnèd advance, and establish thereon  
What the Vicar has built his Idéas upon,  
With Additions thereto which, as far as I see,  
Not one of the Learnèd has added but he.  
For Example, if some, very few, I presume,  
Have describ'd the Disciples as quitting the Room.

VIII.

But let them be many ;—what Reason, what Trace  
Do we find of their leaving the sanctified Place ?

xvi. 17) is the following : "And these just the faintest chance of its correctness.  
signs shall follow them that believe : In 52. *Idéas*. A tri-syllable. Cf. *Richard*  
my name shall they cast out devils ; they *III.*, iii. 7, 12-13 :  
shall speak with new tongues." Byrom's "Withal I did infer your lineaments,  
contention that "tongues" here merely Being the right idéa of your father."  
meant "powers" or "instruments of speech" 55 *seqq.* If some, very few, &c. Cf.  
is not the less grotesque, because there is *Epistle II.*, 58-9, *ante*.

Q Q



Of a Wind from above did they fear at the Shake,  
 And the House, thro' a Doubt of its falling, forsake? 60  
 Or did they go forth to the gathering Quire,  
 Lest the many bright Flames should have set it on Fire?  
 If a Thought could have enter'd of going away,  
 What Circumstance was not strong Motive to stay?

## IX.

Then again : "that the Foreigners, all of them, knew  
 The Language then us'd at *Jerusalem* too."—  
 For the Miracle's Sake one would here have demurr'd,  
 Which is render'd so needless, improper, absurd,  
 That *Jerusalem* Mockers would really have had 70  
 A Pretence to allege that the pious were mad.  
 For of speaking strange Tongues what accountable Aim,  
 Or of hearing fifteen, when they all knew the same?

## X.

Add to this : the Disciples, the Hundred-and-twenty,  
 Spake amongst one another strange Tongues in like Plenty;—  
 "One by one," says the Vicar, who very well saw  
 What Confusion would rise without some such a Law  
 As the Text has no Hint of ; which says, "they began  
 To speak by the Spirit," not "Man after Man."  
 Could Time have suffic'd for so doing, yet why  
 Speak the Tongues of such Men as were none of them by? 80

## XI.

The Vicar saw, too, that this could not attract  
 Any Multitude thither, supposing it Fact ;

72. *When they all knew the same.* We are not in possession of Mr. Lancaster's argument ; it does not, however, follow that, because the foreigners were all more or less acquainted with Hebrew as spoken at Jerusalem, each of them was not far more accustomed to his own dialect, and was not impressed accordingly by hearing himself addressed in it.

73. *The Disciples, the Hundred-and-twenty.* See *Acts*, i. 25 : "And in those days Peter stood up in the midst of the

And so he conceiv'd that "a Rumour was spread  
By the Men of the House,"—of whom nothing is said.  
Now, when Men of his Learning are forc'd to find out  
Such unchronicl'd Salvos to dissipate Doubt,  
One is apt to infer a well-grounded Suspense,  
And the more to look out for more natural Sense.

XII.

I wish my old Friend would consider the Case,  
And how ill it consists with Effusion of Grace  
To speak *Parthian*, and *Median*, and so of the Rest,  
To none but themselves, being present, address'd !  
Unless he can grant, on revolving the Point,  
That indeed there is something not rightly in Joint,  
Or solve one's Objections, or show one the Way  
How to clear up the Matter,—what can a Man say ?

90

disciples, and said (the number of the names together were about an hundred and twenty). the speaking with tongues could have come to be "noised abroad" except by "men of the house" in the first instance.

84. "*The Men of the House*,"—of whom nothing is said. Yet it is hard to see how 86. *Salvos*. Ways of escape out of a difficulty.

EPISTLE IV.

I.

I HAVE, with Attention, dear Vicar, repass'd  
Your obliging Reply to the Lines in my last ;

1. *Repass'd*. Reviewed, considered. 24th, 1756, is reprinted in *Remains*, ii.
2. *Your obliging Reply*. This letter from Mr. Lancaster, dated December 580-4 ; whence the quotations in the following notes are taken.

Am sorry 'tis final ; yet cannot but say  
 That your Patience to hear me has gone a great Way,  
 And extinguish'd all Right to require any more,  
 If I "put you to *prove* 'Two and Two to make Four ;'"—  
 Very difficult Task, as one cannot deny,  
 When there's Nothing more plain to démonstrate it by !

## II.

But if "Two and Two, Four," I am thinking, has claim  
 To self-evident Truth, has this Comment the same : 10  
 "The New Tongues which are mention'd in Promising Page  
 Are the Old ones, subsisting for many an Age ?"  
 Is it really as plain, as that Four is twice Two,  
 That in no other Sense they could ever be "new"  
 But as new to the Speaker, *John, Peter, or Paul,*  
 While the Tongues in themselves had no *Newness* at all ?

## III.

Were this a true Thesis and right to maintain,  
 Yet "Two Halves are one Whole" is, however, more plain,  
 Till the Proof, which is wanted, shall make it appear  
 How the two Propositions are equally clear. 20

3. *Am sorry 'tis final.* "I have now done with the subject." (*Mr. Lancaster's (third) letter to the Author, ad fin.*)

6. *If I put you to prove "Two and Two to make Four."* "Your answer to the query, Were the tongues which our Saviour (*Mark*, xvi. 17) promised to his disciples they should speak with, such languages as they then knew not ? is, No." [*Cf. Epistle III.*, 40.] "This is doing things to the purpose—a bold Alexandrian stroke—and I am put upon the difficult task of showing that two and two make four." (*Mr. Lancaster's (third) letter to the Author.*)

11 *seqq.* "*The New Tongues,*" &c. Having argued from a comparison of texts that "*αἱ ἡμετέραι γλώσσαι* means 'our languages' [*i.e.* the languages spoken by the nations enumerated in *Acts*, ii. 9–11], Byrom's correspondent proceeds to contend, that by the Apostles' and disciples' speaking in these languages, previously unknown to them, 'was exactly fulfilled what our Lord had promised' [*St. Mark*, xvi. 17], 'that they should, upon their receiving the Holy Ghost, speak *γλώσσας καινὰς*, in languages new to them.' (*Mr. Lancaster's (third) letter to the Author.*)

"This Proof may be had from the Chapter," you say,  
 "Which relates what was done on the *Pentecost* Day,—  
 The best of all Proofs."—But, to do the fair Thing,  
 Give me Leave to examine what Reasons you bring!

IV.

"That 'γλώσσαι' is 'Languages' oft, if you seek  
 "In the Septuagint or the New Testament Greek,  
 "Acknowledge you must."—Yes; 'tis really the Case.—  
 "'Ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις' in this very Place  
 "Must mean, 'in our Languages.' Sense, you must own,  
 "Is the same as in 'τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν,'— 30  
 "'In our Languages,' or 'in our Dialect.'"—Yes,  
 "Two and Two making Four" is not plainer than this.

V.

But how it flows hence, that in cited *St. Mark*  
 It has no other Meaning, I'm quite in the dark.  
 Few Words of a Language are always confin'd  
 To a Meaning precisely of just the same Kind.  
 For the Roots of the Hebrew in *Hutchinson's* School,  
 I remember, they had such a Kind of a Rule;

25 seqq. "That 'γλώσσαι' is 'Languages' oft," &c. "You cannot but own that the word γλώσσαι, in several places of the Old Testament according to the translation of the Seventy, and in many places of the New Testament, signifies languages. And that it does so in the place above cited" [*St. Mark*, xvi. 17] "may be fully proved from the very chapter" [*Acts*, ii.] "in which what was done on the day of Pentecost is related. In v. 11, the signification of ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις is evidently 'in our languages,' the same as is otherwise expressed in v. 6 by τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ, and in v. 8 by τῇ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν." (*Mr. Lancaster's* (third) *letter to the Author*.)

35, 36. Few words of a Language are always confin'd  
 To a Meaning precisely of just the same Kind.

Most dictionaries will prove the truth of this assertion; yet, for all that, words are usually employed in the same sense when used in the same connexion by the same writers, or by writers of the same age and class.

37. In *HUTCHINSON'S School*. "The Hutchinsonians," says Mr. Leslie Stephen (*History of English Thought*, ii. 298),

But the Reach of its Proof has been out of my Pow'r,  
Tho' I've talk'd with their Master full many an Hour.

40

## VI.

I believe that by Grace, which the Spirit instill'd,  
"They shall speak with New Tongues" was exactly fulfill'd  
In our Saviour's Disciples ; that, Grace being got,  
They did so "speak in Tongues," as before they could not.  
With respect to good Strangers partaking of Grace,  
For "speak with new Tongues" "with new Languages" place,  
And the Promise fulfill'd we may very well call  
By one Spirit-form'd Tongue which instructed them all.

## VII.

If the bold Alexandrian Stroke of a "No"  
Had been "Yes," in my Last — and it would have been so, 50  
If the Facts had requir'd it,—what could it have shown,  
Tho' the Text had this Meaning, if not this alone ?  
For how do all Languages, spoken in One,  
Disagree with the Promise insisted upon ?  
I allow it fulfill'd ; let the Vicar allow  
The Fulfilling, *itself*, to determine the *How*.

"were combined in an extreme dislike for rationalism ; in a fanatical respect for the letter of the Bible ; and in an attempt to enlist the rising powers of scientific enquiry upon the side of orthodoxy." Among them were two Cambridge men, Julius Bate and Joseph Parkinson, both Hebraists of distinction and each author of a Hebrew-English Dictionary without points. Byrom was opposed to the Hutchinsonian system of interpretation. (See *Remains*, ii. 131. There is no mention in the *Remains* of any

meeting between Hutchinson and Byrom.)

45. *With respect to good Strangers' partaking of Grace.* This seems to refer to Mr. Lancaster's remark, *u.s.*, that "surely the disciples themselves were to be first convinced of their actually having the gift of speaking and understanding foreign languages, before they gave a demonstration of their being so inspired to unbelievers."

49. *The bold Alexandrian Stroke of a "No."* See *Epistle III.*, l. 40, *ante*, p. 297. — "Alexandrian" signifies "critical."

VIII.

God's Wonderful Works when Disciples display'd,  
And spake by the Spirit's Omnipotent Aid,  
Ev'ry one understood in a Language his own  
"Loquentibus illis,"—"λαλούντων αὐτῶν,"— 60  
"While they spake,"—at the first; for good *Greek* and good Sense  
Forbid us to form an unwritten Pretence  
For dividing of Tongues, when the Spirit's Descent  
Gave at once both to speak and to know what was meant.

IX.

But thus to interpret, it seems, you forbid  
By placing the Stop as old *Gregory* did,  
Who thought as you think; tho' you bring, I agree,  
At least a more plausible Reason than he,  
From a Passage that suits with your Meaning alone:  
Acts the 10th, "for they heard"—"ἤκουον γὰρ αὐτῶν" 70  
*Λαλούντων*," "them speaking,"—and "γλώσσαις"—"in Tongues;"  
Where, indeed, to that Greek that Construction belongs.

X.

By transposing two Words the grammatical Lot  
Shows when they are absolute, when they are not.  
But be it "them speaking," as you would collect,  
"In our Languages" still it will never affect

60. "*Loquentibus illis*." Byrom therefore wishes to construe "*λαλούντων αὐτῶν*" as genitives absolute. But see note to *Epistle III.*, 21, *ante*, p. 295.

66. As old GREGORY did. Cf. note to *Epistle II.*, 21, *ante*, p. 290.

73. By transposing two words. This last attempt in conducting the defence of a hopeless position deserves credit for its ingenuity. A nice ear would probably prefer "*αὐτῶν λαλούντων*" to "*λαλούντων*"

*αὐτῶν*" in *Acts*, ii. 11; but St. Luke did not pretend to an Attic style.

*Ib.* The grammatical Lot. Grammarians.

75. But be it. But suppose the right rendering to be (notwithstanding grammatical usage).

*Ib.* Collect. Conclude.

76 *seqq.* Still it will never affect, &c. Mr. Lancaster had himself pointed this out. See note to *Epistle III.*, l. 21, *ante*, p. 295.

The Force of those Reasons, from which 'tis inferr'd  
 That at once they were spoken, at once they were heard ;  
 Nor of those which deny that "Tongues," *quatenus* "new,"  
 Mean always precisely what "Languages" do.

80

## XI.

That Evidence, Vicar, which here you have brought,  
 Cross-examin'd, will certainly favour this Thought.  
 For *Cornelius* converted, and Company too,  
 Without Intervention of Languages new,—  
 How can any one think, but from Prejudice bred,  
 Tho' honest, from what he has often heard said,  
 That then they were all on a sudden inspir'd  
 To speak with strange Tongues, when no Reason requir'd ?

## XII.

But now, being got to the End of a Tether  
 Prescrib'd to your Trouble, I leave to you whether  
 "Tongues" anywhere else in the Sense you assert  
 Were spoken to Purpose, that is, to convert,—  
 Or whether your Patience can bear to excuse  
 A Reply to your Hints on the Sense that I choose ?  
 In the mean Time I thank you for Favours in Hand  
 And, speaking or silent, am

90

Yours to Command.

81. *That Evidence, Vicar, which here you have brought.* The reference is to the passage, *Acts*, x. 46, cited by Mr. Lancaster in his third letter. (See the same note, *ante*.) Byrom's endeavour to press this passage into the service of his argument, is more creditable to his talent for disputation, than characteristic of the true modesty which was in him. What claim had he to assert (l. 88) that "no Reason required"

Cornelius and his household to display a Divine gift, supposing such a one to have been miraculously conferred upon them? Indeed, the Scripture narrative (*u.s.*, 46-7) seems directly to suggest the reason why it was well that God should be glorified out of the mouths of Gentiles.

92. *Spoken to Purpose, that is, to convert.* Cf. on this head note to *Epistle I.*, 81-2, *ante*, p. 288.

A LETTER TO A FRIEND,  
UPON THE MEANING OF ST. PAUL'S EXPRESSION  
OF "SPEAKING WITH TONGUES,"  
1st CORINTHIANS, ch. xiv.

[In his note to *Remains*, ii. 552, Canon Parkinson suggests that the "friend" to whom this *Letter* was addressed, was the non-juror John Lindsay (concerning whom see note, *ib.*, 532, and *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 306-7). On April 4th, 1753, Lindsay, who like Byrom was a follower of Law, wrote to the former: "Your chapter, *1st Corinthians*, xiv., is too knotty for me to unravel; I cannot understand it; your better judgment might be able to enlighten me, and I should be highly obliged to you in so doing; for, as I have much leisure, I am greatly delighted with speculative points, I do not mean merely for amusement, but so far as they may be beneficial to my improvement." It is, however, I think, more probable that this *Letter* was intended by Byrom for the same "Reverend Sir" as the preceding *Four Epistles*, and, indeed, the concluding stanza of *Epistle IV.* seems to suggest that something like the ensuing paradox was intended further to try the "Friend's" patience. Nothing need be added by way of criticism on Byrom's hypothesis, except that everything is possible to the forcible application of an eccentric interpretation suggested by perverse ingenuity. Anybody who will take the trouble to read through the chapter will see how ludicrously flat an effect Byrom's interpretation of "tongues" as "hymns" gives to the Apostolic admonition; nor is it possible to regret that this *Letter* should have remained a fragment of less than two hundred lines, to which its author had not put a final polish. (See notes to ll. 123-4, and to ll. 67 and 80.)]

IF you remember, Rev'rend Sir, the Talk  
That pass'd betwixt us in the Garden Walk,  
The "Gift of Tongues" was mention'd; when I thought  
That Notion wrong which learn'd Men had taught,

R R



And that this Gift was not at all concern'd  
With that of speaking Languages unlearn'd.

*St. Paul*, I said, in his *Corinthian* Charge,  
Had treated on the Subject more at large ;  
From whose Account one plainly might deduce  
The genuine Gift, its Nature and its Use ; 10  
And make appear from Passages enow  
The vulgar Notion not to be the true ;  
But that to "speak in Tongues," or "speak in Tongue,"  
Was meant of Hymns which the *Corinthians* sung.  
This is the "Gift" which the Apostle paints,  
And lays its Practice under due Restraints.

You know the Chapter.—First, then, let us see  
How "Tongues" do there with "Languages" agree ;  
Then, how with "Hymns ;" and let which better suits  
Th' Apostle's Context regulate Disputes. 20

First : "he that speaketh in a Tongue"—"unknown,"  
Translators add for Reasons of their own—  
"Speaketh to God, and speaketh not to Men ;"—  
Peculiar Tokens of an Hymn ! Again :  
"For no Man understandeth him." From hence  
'Tis plain that "Languages" was not the Sense.  
Would he rise up who had them at Command,  
To speak in one that none could understand ?

6. *Unlearn'd.* Unlearned by, previously unknown to, them.

7. *In his CORINTHIAN Charge.* See 1st *Corinthians*, chapter xiv.

21 *seqq.* First "*he that speaketh, in a Tongue, &c.*" See 1st *Corinthians*, xiv. 2 : "For he that speaketh in an *unknown* tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God : for no man understandeth *him* ; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries."

The italics are those of the Authorised Version, and the words italicised are omitted in the Revised Version.

The word "*unknown*" is italicised in the Authorised Version. The Greek text runs : "Ὁ γὰρ λαλῶν γλώσση οὐκ ἀνθρώποις, &c. ;" and the Revised Version : "For he that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God ; for no man understandeth."

What can be more unlikely to suppose ?  
 Yet thus the learned Commentators glose, 30  
 As their Mistake about the Gift implied  
 The Christians guilty of this awkward Pride !  
 Such Fact they make no Scruple to advance,  
 As would appear absurd in a Romance.  
 One in his softer, one his harsher, Terms,  
 The same miraculous Disgrace affirms ;  
 All from the Difficulty try some Shape,  
 Whilst there is no escaping, to escape.

Whereas to "Hymns" all Phrases correspond.  
 Of them *Corinthian* Converts were too fond ; 40  
 And *Paul*, who will'd them really to rejoice,  
 But more with Heart affected than with Voice,  
 Authority with Reason mix'd employs,  
 Not to repress, but regulate their Joys.  
 The Benefit of Hymns he understood ;  
 But, most intent upon the Church's Good,  
 The "Gift *prophetic*" more expedient found,—  
 That is, to preach the Gospel, or expound—  
 Than to sing Hymns. "The Prophet speaks," says *Paul*,  
 "To Men ; instructs, exhorts and comforts all." 50

"Speaking in Tongue," or Hymning (to proceed),  
 "May edify the Singer's Self indeed ;

31. *Their Mistake about the Gift.* Their mistake about the gift, or power, conveyed by the Pentecostal Miracle. See *Epistles to the Rev. Mr. L—*, i. 17 seq., ante.

37, 38. *All from the Difficulty, &c.* A Byronic inversion. Proteus in vain assumed a succession of shapes, when bound down by Menelaus and his companions. (*Odyss.*, iv. 450 seqq.)

40. *Of them CORINTHIAN Converts were too fond.* A deduction, I presume, from v. 26 of the chapter cited above : "How

is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm . . . Let all things be done unto edifying."

49, 50. "*The Prophet speaks*," says PAUL, *To Men, instructs, exhorts, and comforts all.*"

See *ib.*, vv. 29–31 : "Let the prophets speak two or three . . . For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted."

51–2. "*Speaking in Tongue*," &c. See *ib.*, vv. 27–8 : "If any man speak in an

But *Prophecy, the Church*;" a private Soul  
 Should always yield the Pref'rence to the Whole.  
 Consistent all, if "Hymning" he explains;  
 If "Languages unknown," what Sense remains?  
 Would *Paul* affirm, that speaking might do good  
 In foreign Languages, not understood,  
 To a Man's Self? Would he so gently treat  
 Such a suppos'd enormous Self-conceit?  
 Would he vouchsafe to pay, the Chapter thro',  
 Respect to "Tongues," if taken in this View?  
 Would he allow, nay choose it?—For that next  
 Is said of Tongues in the succeeding Text.

60

"I will you all to speak with Tongues." To sing  
 Makes this a plain, intelligible Thing.  
 The other Meaning which they spread about,  
 No Commentators have, or can make out.  
 That he should will them all to sing was just,  
 And properly to use the Gift, or Trust;  
 For his Intention was not to reduce  
 Singing itself, but its improper Use.  
 It was the good Apostle's great Concern  
 To preach the Gospel so that most might learn;  
 This was the Gift in which he rather will'd  
 Such as had been converted to be skill'd.  
 "Speaking in Tongue" was good; but this, he knew,  
 Was the more useful Talent of the two;  
 "Greater its Owner," but with an "Except,"

70

*unknown* tongue . . . if there be no interpreter . . . let him speak to himself, and to God."

65. "*I will you all to speak with Tongues.*" See *ib.*, v. 5: "I would that ye all spake with tongues, but rather that ye prophesied."

67. *Have or can make.* Have made or can make. An inelegant ellipsis.

79. "*Greater its Owner,*" but with an "*Except.*" See v. 5: "Greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying."

That shows the Justice for an Hymner kept, 80  
 The Matter sung who if he could express  
 To edify the Hearers, was not less ;  
 " Interpretation " render'd them alike.  
 But does not this absurd Supposal strike,  
 That in plain Speaking on some Christian Head  
 One should interpret what himself had said ;  
 First, use a Language to the Church unknown,  
 Then, in another, for his Fault atone ?  
 What Reason possible can be assign'd,  
 Why the known Tongue should be at first declin'd ? 90  
 This Difficulty, and so all the rest,  
 The Nature of an Hymn explains the best.

" Now, should I come amongst you," says the Saint,  
 " Speaking with Tongues"—should only come to chant —  
 " What shall it profit you, except I preach,—  
 Some Revelation, Knowledge, Doctrine teach ? "  
 And here the vulgar Meaning of the Word  
 For Apostolic Use is too absurd ;  
 He scarce would " if " the speaking in a Tongue  
 Unknown to Christians whom he came among ; 100  
 Nor would a Question find with him a Place  
 About their Profit in so gross a Case.

80. *The Matter sung*, &c. An awkward inversion.

86. *One shall interpret what himself had said*. The Greek word is "*διερμηνεύειν*," which seems to imply making thoroughly clear. Byrom's objection seems to me futile. "Speaking in a tongue," according to the meaning of the phrase ordinarily accepted, would not be "plain speaking, on some Christian Head" any more than, for instance, would be the reading of the Gospel in Latin to an uneducated congregation.

89, 90. *What Reason possible*, &c. None, unless it were this, that the speaking in an unknown tongue attests an additional miraculous gift.

93. "*Now, should I come amongst you*," &c. See v. 6: "Now, brethren, if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine?"

99. *He scarce would "if"*. He would scarcely put the supposition of. Cf. "but me no buts."

He plainly hints a Coming, not design'd  
 To please their Ear, but to instruct their Mind,—  
 The real Profit which he pointed at ;  
 And Hymns themselves were useless without that.

That such a Speaking, as is mentioned here,  
 Was musical, is evidently clear  
 From the Allusion which he then propounds,  
 To "Pipe," and "Harp," and instrumental Sounds ; 110  
 Which none can urge with Reason to belong  
 So properly to Language as to Song.  
 Tho' it may serve for both in some respect,  
 Yet here one sees to which it must direct :  
 "If Pipe or Harp be indistinctly heard,  
 No Tune or Meaning can be thence inferr'd ;  
 If an uncertain Sound the Trumpet yield,  
 How shall a Man make ready for the Field ?"

Thus of dead Instruments.—Of them that live,  
 "So ye," th' Apostle adds, "except ye give 120  
 Words by the Tongue, that Men can apprehend,  
 Ye speak, but as to Hearers to no End ;  
 And"—what with hymning Posture seems to square—  
 "Will be like Men who speak into the Air.

"So ye," to show how Tune and Song agree,  
 "Except ye utter with the Tongue," says he,

109 *seqq.* *The Allusion which he then  
 propounds*

To "Pipe" and "Harp," &c.

See *ib.*, v. 7 : "And even things without  
 life giving sound, whether pipe or harp,  
 except they give a distinction in the sounds,  
 how shall it be known what is piped or  
 harped ? For if the trumpet give an un-  
 certain sound, who shall prepare himself  
 for the battle ?"

120 *seqq.* *So ye, &c.* See *ib.*, v. 9 : "So  
 likewise ye, except ye utter by the tongue  
 words easy to be understood, how shall it  
 be known what is spoken ? for ye shall  
 speak into the air."

123-4. *And—what with hymning pos-  
 ture, &c.* The (virtual) repetition of this  
 couplet, *infra*, ll. 131-2, shows that these  
 verses had not been properly revised by  
 their author.

"Words that are easy to be understood,"—  
Which in a foreign Tongue they never could,—  
"How shall the Thing be known to any one  
That ye have spoken" —that is, sung—"upon?" 130  
And—what with hymning Posture seems to square—  
He adds, "for ye shall speak into the Air."

"Except ye utter with the Tongue"—"unknown"  
Translators here thought fit to let alone;  
"Unknown, and easy too to understand,"  
That could not be: "unknown" they must disband.  
It was enough to show them their Mistake,  
To see what Incoherence it would make;  
Yet they, not minding, just as they think fit,  
Sometimes insert it, and sometimes omit. 140  
But if the Epithet at first be right,  
Why is it kept so often out of Sight?  
Do not Omissions carry all along  
Tacit Confession of its being wrong,—  
Tacit Confession, which is open Proof  
How little can be said in its Behoof?

"They who shall speak in Tongue, and they who hear,  
Unless the Meaning of the Voice be clear,"—  
The Sense not being "within mutual Reach,"—  
"Will be," says Paul, "Barbarians each to each,"— 150  
Or "Foreigners;"—"and, therefore," is his Drift,

133-4. "Unknown"

*Translators here thought fit to let alone.*  
Cf. ll. 21, 22 *ante*. But I am afraid that  
Byrom is here not very careful, or not  
quite ingenuous. In the present passage  
the Greek is διὰ τῆς γλώσσης; and the use  
of the definite article shows that the actual  
bodily tongue is here meant.

147 *seqq.* "They who shall speak," &c.  
See *ib.*, v. 11: "Therefore if I know not the  
meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him  
that speaketh a barbarian, and he that  
speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me."

149. *The Sense not being "within mu-  
tual reach."* Which would answer to the  
more literal meaning of ἡ δύναμις τῆς φωνῆς.

"With all your Fondness for the speaking Gift,  
Have the whole Church's Benefit in View ;  
Let him who speaks in Tongue interpret too !"

Can such Concession, such Allowance made  
Suit with that insupportable Parade  
And Show of Gift which Commentators vent,  
Giving a Meaning that could scarce be meant ?  
While Zeal for Hymns, a natural Effect  
In Novices, tho' wanting to be check'd, 160  
Accounts for checking, for allowing Phrase,  
For ev'ry Motive that St. Paul displays,—  
His placid Reas'ning and his mild Rebuke,  
For which no Insolence of Gift could look ?  
No Insolence, I say, of such a Kind  
As Commentators rashly have assign'd  
To the first Christians ; which the latter now,  
Suppose it offer'd, never would allow.

"For if I pray in Tongue," St. Paul pursues,  
"My Spirit prayeth ; but no Fruit accrues 170  
To them who do not understand my Pray'rs."—  
And what the Remedy which he prepares ?  
Why, it is this : "I will so"—sing or—"pray,  
That all may understand what I shall say."  
Plain the two Phrases in the Verse proclaim,

152 *seqq.* "*And therefore,*" is his *Drift*, &c. See *ib.* v. 13 : "Wherefore let him that speaketh in an *unknown* tongue pray that he may interpret."

160. *Wanting to be checked.* Needing to be restrained.

161. *For checking, for allowing phrase.* For the words in which he restrains, and for those in which he conditionally permits.

164. *No Insolence of Gift.* No insolent

use of a miraculous gift (such as that of speaking with tongues).

169 *seqq.* "*For if I pray in Tongue,*" &c. See vv. 14, 15 : "For if I pray in an *unknown* tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then ? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also ; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also."

That "praying" here and "singing" is the same ;  
That some Corinthians so display'd their Art  
That none but they themselves could bear a Part.  
Hence "to interpret Hymns" his Words ordain,  
Or else "to sing intelligibly plain ;"— 180

Praying, or praising. "For," says he again,  
"How shall unlearned Persons say 'Amen'  
To thy Thanksgiving, if, when thou shalt bless,  
They understand not what thy Words express ?  
Thou verily hast given Thanks, and well ;  
But this, unedified, they cannot tell."  
The common Benefit is still his Aim,—  
True, real Glory of the Christian Name.

In Languages unknown was Pray'r and Praise  
Perform'd by Christians in th' Apostles Days ? 190  
Was that a Time, or was the Church a Place,  
For gifted Ostentation to disgrace ?

[*Cætera desunt.*]

181 *seqq.* "For," says he again, &c. Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he  
See vv. 16, 17 : "Else, when thou shalt understandeth not what thou sayest. For  
bless with the spirit, how shall he that thou verily givest thanks well but the other  
occupieth the room of the unlearned say is not edified."

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## A DIALOGUE

BETWEEN RUSTICUS, THEOPHILUS AND ACADEMICUS,  
ON THE NATURE, POWER AND USE OF HUMAN  
LEARNING IN MATTERS OF RELIGION.

(From MR. LAW'S *Way to Divine Knowledge.*)

[This paraphrase, which is extremely faithful to its text, was composed by Byrom in the latter part of the year 1752. On October  
S S



16th of that year he writes to Law: "I return you thanks for the very acceptable present of your last *Dialogues*, which have extorted the use of my pen in some more verses, which, if you care for any more, I shall upon orders send you a specimen of, nor let any other person have them without you. They turn upon that sensible observation which you have so justly made the proof and criterion of religion, as if their title were something that implied the—the religion of common sense delineated." (*Remains*, ii. 546. The last clause of the last sentence seems to me rather obscure.) Law replied, at some later date (not mentioned) in the same year: "Pray contrive some way of sending your new verses, and don't be discouraged by your suffering on my account." (*Remains*, ii. 547. Byrom had informed him that the *Monthly Review* and the other [the *Critical?*] *Review* had just appeared, and that both treated his *Dialogues* "as want of sense ought to treat them." *Ib.*)

The *Dialogues* in question are the three published by Law in 1752 under the title of *The Way to Divine Knowledge: being several Dialogues between Humanus, Academicus, Rusticus and Theophilus, as preparatory to a new Edition of the Works of Jacob Behmen, and the right Use of them*. My references are to the second edition, 1762, which is included in vol. vii. of the *Works* of Law, bearing the date of the latter year. Of these more or less imaginary personages—I say "more or less," inasmuch as the opinions of "*Theophilus*" are to all intents and purposes identical with those of Law himself,—*Academicus*, *Rusticus* and *Theophilus* are also the characters conducting the dialogues which constitute the *Second Part* of *The Spirit of Prayer*, published with the *First Part* in 1749. (There is a slip as to this in my *Introductory Note to The Epistle to a Gentleman of the Temple*, ante, p. 139.) In the *Second Part* the ends and aims of these characters are very clearly distinguished from one another. The task of *Theophilus* is to develope more fully, and to defend against objections, the view of regeneration advanced in the *First Part* of *The Spirit of Prayer*, but put with even greater distinctness in *An Appeal to all that Doubt*. The raiser of objections—most of them, it must be allowed, of a rather superficial type, or at least admitting of easy refutation,—is *Academicus*, well-meaning and well-instructed, but devoid of light. *Rusticus*, on the contrary, exemplifies the simple soul which lies open to the light and reflects it with perfect candour. A

fourth personage, *Humanus*, is referred to as present at these dialogues, but on the understood condition of being *auditor tantum*. He is a neighbour of *Academicus* and a learned man, but so ignorant of the Gospel as to have often tried to persuade his friend into a disbelief of it. Yet the circumstance that he attends these conferences at his own earnest desire, cannot be regarded as altogether devoid of promise.

And, indeed, the very first of the dialogues published under the title of *The Way to Divine Knowledge* is opened by *Humanus* himself, no longer an infidel, but converted to the new light opened to him by the discourse of *Theophilus*. He is divided between an ardent desire for a further view of those great truths which he may expect from an opening of "the Mysteries of Heaven revealed to that wonderful Man, *Jacob Behmen*," and a vehement impulse himself to turn preacher among his former infidel brethren. Thus the discussion in the *First Dialogue* of the series naturally takes the line of an enquiry into the nature of angelic goodness,—how it was lost by man and how alone he may hope to recover it. In the *Second Dialogue* *Academicus* asserts himself by asking for a clue which may enable him to understand Jacob Behmen's teaching; but *Rusticus* retorts with an account of the proceedings of "his old neighbour John the Shepherd," whose practice it was to have read to him not only Jacob Behmen, but the Bible, without note or comment, allowing the light shed upon his soul to enter in to fill it. From this point onwards, for seven pages or thereabouts, the progress of the *Dialogue* is very closely followed by Byrom's paraphrase. Into the *a priori* explanation (if I may so call it) of the Redemption, which follows and is represented to be the "true and fundamental ground" of Jacob Behmen's teaching, I need not here enter. But it is difficult to conceive anything more characteristic of Law than his remark that the fact of the "mystery" expounded by him being intended to bring man from false religious conceptions to the simple Gospel faith, "may pass for a good reason why" its revelation was so long delayed. The distressed and confused state of religion in the world, he asserts, required the remedy, now vouchsafed, of "the opening of the Ground and Mystery of all things."

But Byrom's Muse refrained from accompanying so far the argument of his "Master;" and his exposition, which closely follows the text before him, of "the nature, power and use of human learning in

matters of religion," virtually amounts to a demonstration that human learning, though it may be of use in its own sphere, is in this higher sphere futile and of no account. One may regret that Byrom should not have included in his paraphrase the speech of *Academicus* which follows upon the passage reproduced by him, and which gives a very effective and indeed humorous account of his own useless labours in seeking to attain to the truth by the study of divinity. (It is given by Overton, in his biography of Law, pp. 314-6.) As the present paraphrase stands, this passage in Law's *Dialogues* seems mainly declamatory; but, in justice to its author, it should be read with its context.

It may be added that in the edition of *The Works of Jacob Behmen, the Teutonic Theosopher. With the Life of the Author, with Figures illustrating his Principles, left by the Rev. William Law*, 4 vols., 4to, London, 1764-81, vol. i. opens with *A Dialogue between Zelotes, Alphabeticus, Rusticus and Theophilus. A Fragment*. In this fragment, which in fact fills only two pages, "the poor illiterate *Behmen*" is described as "so merely an Instrument of divine Direction, as to have no ability to think, speak or write any Thing, but what sprung up in him, or came upon him, as *independently* of himself, as a Shower of Rain falls here or there *independently* of the Place where it falls."

The essence of Law's views concerning the value of Jacob Böhme's teaching will be found in R. Tighe's *Short Account of the Life and Writings of William Law* (1813), p. 49. An interesting account of the English students of "Behmen" before Law will be found in a review of the English version of Bishop Martensen's *Jacob Böhme; his Life and Teaching*, which appeared in the *Saturday Review* for June 26th, 1886. Among those moderns who have warmly appreciated Jakob Böhme may be mentioned Jean Paul, who wrote to F. H. Jakobi on April 9th, 1801 (*Sämmtliche Werke*, xxix. (1842), 304): "I am now reading Jakob Böhme. Wherever he is only philosophical and not chemical, he has depth and nobility, and may even be called a Pre-Fichtian . . . His poetic dalliance (*Liebkosen*) with Nature at large, and his holy life in the Supreme Being, purify and raise me. Of obscurity there is little in him."]

#### RUSTICUS.

YES, *Academicus*, you love to hear  
The Words of *Jacob Behmen* made so clear;

But the Truth is, the fundamental Good  
At which he aims you have not understood.  
Content with such good Notions as befit  
Your learnèd Reason and your searching Wit  
To make a Talk about, you gather still  
More ample Matter for your Hear-say Skill.  
You know yourself as well as I, that this  
Is all your Joy in him ; and hence it is 10  
That you are so impatient, ev'ry Day,  
For more and more of what his Pages say,—  
So vex'd and puzzled, if you cannot find  
Their Meaning open'd to your eager Mind,  
Nor add new Notions and a stronger Force,  
To heighten still your Talent of Discourse.

With all your Value for his Books, as yet  
This Disposition makes you to forget  
How oft they tell you, and how well they show,  
That this inordinate Desire *to know*,— 20  
This heaping up of Notions, one by one,  
For subtle Fancy to descant upon,  
While *Babel*, as you think, is overthrown,—  
Is building up a new one of your own.

3 *seqq.* But the Truth is, &c. "But the Truth is, you have only heard these fundamental Matters ; you have only received them as good *Notions* ; are content with the *Hear-say* of them, and are therefore impatient to have more of this hear-say Knowledge, that you may become more learned in high Matters, and more able to talk about the Ground and Depth of Christian Doctrines. You know, as well as I can tell you, that this is your Joy in Jacob Behmen ; and thence it is, that you have no Patience, when you cannot come at his Meaning, so as to add it to your Number of Notions." (*The Way to* 17 *seqq.* With all your Value for his Books, &c. "And thus you forget how often he tells you, and how fundamentally he proves it to you, that this *notional* Knowledge, the Treasure of *human Reason*, is the very Builder of *Babel*. Whilst you are under the Guidance of our own *Babylonian Reason*, you can have no Good either from the Scriptures, or the Writings of *Jacob Behmen* ; but will be hunting after *Notes* and *Commentaries* to help you to Notions, which only delude your Mind with the empty Shadows of Knowledge." (*Ib.*, 93.)

Your *Babylonish* Reason is the Pow'r  
That seeks Materials to erect its Tow'r ;  
The very Scriptures under such a Guide  
Will only nourish your high-soaring Pride ;  
Nor will you penetrate with all your Art  
Of *Jacob's* Writings the substantial Part.

30

The Works of *Behmen* would you understand ?  
Then, where he stood, see also that you stand !  
Begin where he began ; direct your Thought  
To seek the Blessing only that he sought,—  
The Heart of God ; that by a right true Faith  
He might be sav'd from Sin and Satan's Wrath.  
While thus the humble Seeker stood resign'd,  
The Light of God broke in upon his Mind ;  
But you, devoted to the Pow'r alone  
Of speculative Reason, all your own,  
Would reach his Ladder's Top at once, nor try  
The Pains of rising Step by Step so high.—  
But on this Subject, by your Looks, I see  
You'd rather hear *Theophilus* than me.

40

## THEOPHILUS.

Why, really, *Academicus*, the Main  
Of all that *Rusticus*, so bluntly plain,  
Has here been saying, tho' it seem so hard,  
Hints Truth enough to put you on your Guard.

31 seqq. *The Works of BEHMEN would you understand ?* " Would you know the Truths of *Jacob Behmen*, you must see that you stand where he stood ; you must begin where he began ; and seek only, as he tells you he did, the *Heart of God that he might be saved* from the Wrath of Sin and Satan ; and then it was, that the Light of God broke in upon him. But you, full of the Power of your own Reason, want to stand upon the Top of his Ladder, without the Trouble of beginning at the Bottom, and going up Step by Step." (*Ib.*, 93.)

45 seqq. *Why, really, ACADEMICUS, &c.* " Truly, *Academicus*, I am much of the same Mind with honest *Rusticus*, though perhaps I might not have spoken it so bluntly as he has done. You seem to be

Much in the same Mistake your Mind has been,  
That many of my learnèd Friends are in ; 50  
Who, tho' Admirers to a great Degree,  
Of Truths in *Jacob Behmen* which they see,  
Yet of all People have the least Pretence  
To real Benefit receiv'd from thence.  
Train'd up in Controversy and Dispute,  
Accustom'd to maintain or to refute  
All Propositions only by the Light  
Of their own Reason judging what is right,  
They take this Guide in Truths of ev'ry Kind,  
Both where it sees and where it must be blind ; 60  
So that in Regions where a Light Divine  
Demonstrates Truth, and Reason cannot shine,  
The real Good is hidden from their View,  
And some such System rises up in Lieu,  
As Birth or Education, Mode or Place,  
In Course of Life has led them to embrace.  
Thus with the learned *Papist* in his Creed  
The learned *Protestant* is not agreed ;—  
Not that to either Truth and Light have taught  
To entertain so opposite a Thought ; 70  
But Education's contrary Supplies

in the same Error that most of my learned Friends are in, with regard to *Jacob Behmen*; who, though they greatly admire him, yet of all People receive the least true Benefit of him. They have been trained up in Dispute and Controversy, accustomed to determine everything by the Light of their own Reason, and know no other Guide to Truth. And therefore, till, sooner or later, they come to know the Falseness of this Guide, they can have no Entrance into the Region of Divine Light ; but must be forced to take their Part, not of Truth, but of some such System of Opinions as their Birth and Education has placed them in. Thus, a learned *Papist* has one Creed, and the learned *Protestant* had another ; not because Truth and Light have helped him to it ; but because Birth and Education have given to the one Popish, to the other Protestant, Eyes. For *Reason*, which is the *Eye* or Light of both, finds as much to its Purpose, and as many good Tools to work with, in Popish as in Protestant Opinions. *Learning* and *Criticism* are an open Field to both ; and he only has the greatest Harvest, who is best skilled in Reaping." (*Ib.*, 93-4.)

Have giv'n them *protestant*, and *popish* Eyes ;  
 And, Reason being the accustom'd Light  
 Of both the Parties and of either Sight,  
 Decisions *protestant*, and *popish* too,  
 Can find it Work enough and Tools enow  
 To shape Opinions of a diff'rent Growth ;  
 Whilst Learning is an open Field to both,  
 And of its Harvest the inur'd to reap  
 With greater Skill can show the greater Heap.

80

## ACADEMICUS.

So, then, I must, as I perceive by you,  
 Renounce my Learning, and my Reason too,  
 If I would gain the necessary Lights  
 To understand what *Jacob Behmen* writes.  
 I cannot yield as yet to such Advice,  
 Nor make the Purchase at so dear a Price.  
 I hope the Study of the Scripture Text  
 Will do for me, and leave me unperplext  
 With his deep Matters.—Little did I know  
 That Learning had in you so great a Foe.

90

## THEOPHILUS.

Be not uneasy ; Learning has in me  
 No Foe at all, not in the least Degree,—

79. *The inured to reap.* Those inured deep Matters. I did not expect to find  
 to reap (the harvest). you so great an Enemy to Learning."

81 *seqq.* *So, then, I must, as I perceive* (*Ib.*, 95.)

*by you*, &c. "I perceive, then, that I 91 *seqq.* *Be not uneasy*, &c. "Dear  
 must renounce all my Learning and Reason, if I am to understand *Jacob Behmen*. *Academicus*, be not so uneasy ; I am no  
 I cannot say, that I am resolved to purchase it at so great a Price. I hope the more an Enemy to Learning than I am to  
 Knowledge to be had from the Scriptures in. I esteem the liberal Arts and Sciences  
 will be sufficient for me, without his as the noblest of human Things ; I desire

No more than has the Science or the Skill  
 To build an House to dwell in or a Mill  
 For grinding Corn. I think an useful Art  
 Of human Things the noblest, for my Part.  
 Knowledge of Books or Languages, or aught  
 That any Person has been duly taught,  
 I would not ask him to renounce, or say  
 They might not all be useful in their Way ; 100  
 I would not blame, within its proper Place,  
 The Art of throwing Silk, or making Lace,  
 Or any Art confin'd to its own Sphere :  
 But then, the Measure of its Use is there.  
 Some we call liberal, and some we call  
 Mechanic ; now, the Circle of them all,  
 Does that show forth in its most perfect Plan  
 The natural Abilities of Man,—

no Man to dislike or renounce his Skill in ancient or modern Languages; his Knowledge of Medals, Pictures, Paintings, History, Geography or Chronology; I have no more Dislike of these Things in themselves, than of the Art of *Throwing* Silk, or making *Lace*. But then, all these Things are to stand in their proper Places, and every one kept within its own Sphere.

"Now, all this Circle of Science and Arts, whether liberal or mechanic, belongs solely to the *natural Man*; they are the Work of his *natural Powers and Faculties*; and the most wicked, sensual, unjust Person, who regards neither God nor Man, may yet be one of the ablest Proficients in any or all of them." (*ib.*, 95-6.) It must be admitted that *Theophilus* (who expresses the views of Law himself) is not altogether consistent in declaring, first, that he esteems the liberal Arts as the noblest of human things, and then, that he objects to the study of history as little

as he does to lace-making. Byrom avoids this inconsistency by writing (ll. 95-6):

"I think an *useful* Art  
 Of human Things the noblest."

102. *The Art of throwing Silk*. The art of weaving silk. The phrase has reference to the throwing of the shuttle. I read in the *Penny Cyclopaedia*: "The first silk-throwing mill erected in England was at Derby in 1718."

105, 106. *Some we call liberal, and some we call Mechanic*.

A stronger, as well as a more precise, attack might have been in place here against the inveterate tendency of learned men and societies to arrogate to particular arts, sciences or disciplines the designation of "liberal." This exclusiveness, which dates from the early ages of scholasticism, has been the enduring pride of University men, and the not less enduring bane of Universities.

TT



The Pow'rs and Faculties of human Mind,  
 Whether the Man be well or ill inclin'd ? 110  
 The most unjust and wicked Debauchee,  
 Regarding neither God nor Man, may be  
 In any one or more of all the Train  
 Of greater Skill than others can obtain.

But now, Redemption of the human Race  
 By *Christ*, with all its Mysteries of Grace,  
 Is in itself, as it has always been,  
 Of quite another Nature, nor akin  
 To Art or Science, which for worldly Views  
 The natural or outward Man can use. 120  
 It is an inward Fitness to revive  
 That heav'nly Nature which was once alive  
 In Paradise,—that blissful Life within  
 The human Creature which was lost by Sin.  
 It breathes a Spark of Life, to re-create  
 The poor fall'n Man in his first happy State ;  
 By which, awaken'd into new Desires,  
 After his native Country he enquires ;  
 How he may rise above this earthly Den,  
 And get into his Father's House again. 130

This is Redemption, or the Life Divine,

115 *seqq.* But now, Redemption of the human Race, &c. "But now, Christian Redemption is quite of another Nature ; it has no Affinity to any of these Arts or Sciences ; it belongs not to the outward natural Man, but is purely for the sake of an *inward, heavenly* Nature, that was lost, or put to Death, in Paradise, and buried under the Flesh and Blood of the earthly, natural Man. It breathes a Spark of Life into this inward, hidden or lost Man ; by which it feels and finds itself, and rises up in new-awakened Desires after its lost Father and native Country." (*The Way to Divine Knowledge, Dialogue II.*, p. 96.)  
 Though Law's meaning lies deeper, the beautiful close of this passage recalls the *Civis celestis patrie* of Bishop Marbod, translated by Dr. Neale ("Ye of the heavenly Country").  
 131 *seqq.* This is Redemption, &c. "This is Christian Redemption ; on the one side, it is the *Heavenly Divine Life offering itself again to the inward Man that had lost*

Off'ring itself, on one Hand, with Design  
That inward Man who lost It to restore  
To all the Bliss which he was in before ;  
And on the other, 'tis the Man's Desire,  
Will, Faith and Hope, which earnestly aspire  
After that Life,—the Hunger, Thirst and Call  
To be deliver'd by It from the Fall.

Now whether Man in this awaken'd Strife  
Breathe forth his Longings after this good Life 140  
In Hebrew, Greek, or any English Sound,  
Or none at all but silent Sigh profound,  
Can be of no Significancy ; he  
That knows but one, or uses all the three,  
Neither to him more distant or more near  
Will this redeeming Life of God appear.  
Can you conceive it more to shine upon  
Men of more Languages, than Men of one ?  
He who can make a Grammar for *High Dutch*,

*it.* On the other side, it is the *Hope, the Faith and Desire of this inward Man, hungering and thirsting, stretching after, and calling upon, this Divine and Heavenly Life.* (*The Way to Divine Knowledge, Dialogue II.*, p. 97.)

132. *That inward Man who lost It to restore.* To restore that inner man who lost the Life Divine.

139 *seqq.* *Now, whether Man in this awaken'd Strife, &c.* "Now, whether this awakened, new Man breathes forth his Faith and Hope towards this *Divine Life* in *Hebrew, Greek* or *English* Sounds, or in no one of them, can be of no Significancy : A Man that can do it only in one, or in all these Languages, is neither further from nor nearer to this *redeeming Life* of God. Or can you think, that the *heavenly*

Life must more willingly enter into, and open itself in, a Man that has many Languages, than in him who knows only one ? Or, that a Man who can make *High-Dutch, Welsh* or *Greek Grammars*, must have a stronger Faith, a more lively Hope and a more continual Thirst after God, than he who can but poorly spell in his Mother-tongue ? But now, if this is too absurd to be supposed, then, my Friend, without the least Injury done, or the least Enmity shown to *Learning, Science, Reason* and *Criticism*, you must place them just where I have done, amongst the Things and Ornaments of this earthly Life, and such Things as in their own Nature are as easy to be had, and as highly enjoyed, by Men that despise all Goodness, as by those who fear God and eschew Evil." (*Ib.*, 96-7.)

Or *Welsh*, or *Greek*, can you suppose, as such, 150  
 In Faith and Hope and Goodness will excel  
 A Man that scarce his Mother Tongue can spell ?  
 If this Supposal, then, be too absurd,  
 No Hurt is done, no Enmity incurr'd,  
 To Learning, Science, Reason, critic Wit,  
 By giving them the Places which they fit  
 Amongst the Ornaments of Life below,  
 Which the most profligate as well may know,—  
 One of the most abandon'd vicious Will,  
 As one who, fearing God, escheweth Ill. 160

Therefore, no Truths concerning this Divine  
 And Heav'nly Life can come within the Line  
 Of all this Learning, as exalted far  
 Above the Pow'r of Trial at its Bar ;  
 Where both the Jury and the Judges too  
 Are born with Eyes incapable to view.  
 Living and moving in this World's Demesne,  
 They have their Being in another Scene,  
 The Life Divine no abler to descry  
 Than into Heav'n can look an Eagle's Eye. 170

If you, well-read in ancient Books, my Friend,  
 To publish *Homer's Iliad* should intend  
 Or *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and make out  
 Some Things more plain,—you have the Skill no doubt,

161 seqq. *Therefore, no Truths concerning this Divine, &c.* "And therefore, Sir, no Truths concerning the *Divine and Heavenly Life* are to be brought before this learned Bar, where both Jury and Judges are born and bred, live and move and have their Being in another World, which have no more Power of feeling the Divine Life than an *Eagle's Eyes* can look into the Kingdom of God." (*Ib.*, 97.)

171 seqq. *If you, well-read in ancient Books, my Friend, &c.* "If you, my Friend, having read many old *Greek* and *Latin* Books, should intend to publish *Homer* or *Cæsar's Commentaries*, with critical Notes, I shall have nothing to object to your Ability ; you might be as well qualified by such Means for such a Work, as one Man is to make *Baskets*, or another *Traps* to catch Flies. But if,

As well provided for the Work, perhaps,  
 As one to make his Baskets, one his Traps.  
 But if you think that Skill in ancient Greek  
 And Latin helps you of itself to seek,  
 Find and explain the Spirit and the Sense  
 Of what *Christ* said, it is a vain Pretence 180  
 And quite unnatural,—of equal Kind  
 With the Endeavour of a Man born blind,  
 Who talks about exhibiting the Sight  
 Of diff'rent Colours, beautifully bright.

Doctrines wherein Redemption is concern'd,  
 No more belong to Men as being learn'd,  
 Than Colours do to him who never saw  
 The Light that gives to all of them the Law.  
 From like unnatural Attempt proceeds  
 That huge Variety of Sects and Creeds, 190  
 Which from the same true Scripture can deduce  
 What serves each diff'rent Error for its Use :  
*Papist* or *Protestant*, *Socinian* Class  
 Or *Arian*, can as easily amass  
 The Texts of Scripture and by Reason's Ray,  
 One as another, urge the endless Fray ;

because of this Skill in old *Greek* and *Latin*, you should seem to yourself, or others, to be well-qualified to write Notes upon the Spirit and Meaning of the Words of Christ, I should tell you, that your Undertaking was quite unnatural, and as impossible to be free from Error, as when a blind Man undertakes to set forth the Beauty of different Colours." (*Ib.*, 97-8.)

185 *seqq.* *Doctrines wherein Redemption is concern'd*, &c. "For the Doctrines of Redemption belong no more to the natural Man, than the Beauty of Colours to him that never saw the Light. And from this unnatural Procedure it is that the Scrip-

tures are as useful to the Socinian or Arian, the Papist or the Protestant ; and they can as easily, by the Light of Reason, charge one another with Absurdities and confute each other's Opinion, as two blind Men can quarrel and reject each other's Notions of *Red* and *Green*." (*Ib.*, 98.)

193. *SOCINIAN Class.* Socinian body or sect. Byrom's use of the word "class" is not quite in conformity with modern usage. Cf. *The Country Fellows and the Ass*, l. 7, vol. i. p. 169, *ante* ; and the rimed version of Hor. *Epod.* ii. in *A Defence of Rime*, l. 304, *ib.*, p. 425, *ante*.

Retort Absurdities, whenever prest ;  
 Prove its own System, and confute the rest :  
 Just as blind Men in their Disputes can do  
 Each others' Notions of red, green, or blue. 200

The Light of the celestial inward Man  
 That died in Paradise, when Sin began,  
 Is *Jesus Christ* ; and, consequently, Men  
 By Him alone can rise to Life again :  
 He in the Heart of Man must sow the Seed  
 That can awaken Heav'nly Life indeed ;  
 Nothing but this can possibly admit  
 Return of Life, or in the least be fit  
 Or capable, or sensible of Pow'r  
 From *Jesus Christ* in His redeeming Hour. 210  
 The Light and Life which He intends to raise,  
 Have no Dependence upon Word and Phrase.  
 Life in itself, be it of Heav'n or Earth,  
 Must have its whole Procession from a Birth.  
 Would it not sound absurdly in your Mind,  
 That, if a Man be naturally blind,  
 Care must be had to teach him Grammar well,  
 Or in the Art of Logic to excel ;  
 That he will best obtain, when this is done,

201 seqq. *The Light of the celestial inward Man*, &c. "*Jesus Christ* is the Light of that heavenly Man that died in Paradise ; and therefore nothing in Man but that awakened Seed of Life that died in Paradise, can have the least Sensibility or Capacity for receiving the redeeming Power of *Jesus Christ*. But *Light* and *Life* have no Dependence upon Words or Phrases ; they both can only proceed from a *Birth*, whether it be the Light and Life of God, or the Light and Life of this World. How absurd would it be to suppose that a Man naturally blind must be taught Grammar or Logic, to fit him for the Reception of the Light of the Sun and the Knowledge of Colours ? Yet not less absurd, than to think that Skill in *Hebrew* and *Greek* Words can open the Light of God and Heaven in the Soul. If you now, *Academicus*, can set this Matter in a juster Light, I am ready to hear you." (*The Way to Divine Knowledge, Dialogue II.*, pp. 98-9.)

Knowledge of Light and Colours from the Sun ? 220  
Yet not one Jot is it the less absurd  
To think that Skill in Greek or Hebrew Word,  
Of Man's Redemption can explain the Whole,  
Or let the Light of God into his Soul.

This Matter, *Academicus*, if you  
Can set in a more proper Light,—pray do !

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A CONTRAST BETWEEN HUMAN REASON  
AND DIVINE ILLUMINATION,  
EXEMPLIFIED IN THREE DIFFERENT CHARACTERS.

[In these stanzas Byrom faces the fundamental question at issue between the upholders of "natural," *i.e.*, unrevealed, religion and those who dispute or doubt its sufficiency. His statement of the matter might be described as altogether commonplace, were it not for the stress laid by him upon the mystical conception, that the really effective revelation is that which achieves itself within the individual soul.

Jacob Böhme is as a matter of course chosen as the type of the Divinely illuminated human being ; nor could Böhme's view of "Illumination" be better illustrated than it was by himself. Before me lies, in an English translation, published at Manchester in 1752, "*The Way from Darkness to true Illumination. A Discourse between a Soul hungry and thirsty after the Fountain of Life, the sweet Love of Jesus Christ, and a Soul enlightened. Written in 1624 by Jacob Behmen, alias Teutonicus Philosophus.*" Such books as this do not very easily lend themselves to quotation ; but few readers are likely to remain altogether cold to such a *passus* as the dialogue between "the enlightened" and "the distressed soul," pp. 293 *seqq.*, which, *mutatis mutandis*, recalls the scene between *Anima* and *Wisdom, who is Christ* in the noteworthy early English morality re-edited by Dr. Furnivall from the Digby MSS. (1882).

There are other passages in vol. iv. of the collective English translation of *The Works of Jacob Behmen* (referred to *ante*, p. 316), where the same personifying treatment is applied to the human soul; but the above is the most sustained.

In the same year in which Jacob Böhme's tractate appeared in English at Manchester, the first instalment of Bolingbroke's hitherto unpublished writings came out posthumously at Paris. It was followed in 1753 and 1754 by the publication, through the agency of David Mallet, and in defiance of Lord Cornbury and good feeling, of the great body of Bolingbroke's writings. Their tendency—and it may be added, their intention—was not only to impugn, but to vilify, the Scriptural witnesses to Revelation; and the "contrast" which suggested itself to Byrom's mind was alike obvious and (in a sense) opportune.

The "Hay," rather oddly introduced by Byrom as a philosopher who had advanced half-way towards the truth, must be William Hay (1695–1755) at one time M.P. for Seaforth and afterwards Keeper of the Records in the Tower (see *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xxv.) He published in 8vo., London, 1753, *Religio Philosophi, or the Principles of Morality and Christianity, illustrated from a View of the Universe and of Man's Situation in it*, to which I presume Byrom refers in the following poem. In 1754 he published an English translation of Isaac Hawkins' Latin poem on *The Immortality of the Soul*, which was also translated by Byrom (see below). His other publications, poetical, economical, scholarly and æsthetic, need not be here enumerated.

From the above dates it may be concluded, with much probability, that the ensuing stanzas were composed by Byrom about the year 1753. In any case, they can hardly have been written earlier. Law's very effective statement of the claims of Faith against Reasoning in his *Confutation of Warburton's projected Defence of Christianity in his Divine Legation*, &c. (printed in Law's *Works*, vol. viii. pp. 62 *seqq.*), was not published till 1757. It refers to Bolingbroke in the following striking passage (pp. 105–6): "What is the Difference between Reason in *St. Paul*, a *Spinosa*, a *Hobbes*, or a *Bolingbroke*? None at all, or no other than in their outward Shape. Therefore, if *Reason* be the divine Image or Likeness of God in Man, a *Hobbes* and a *Bolingbroke* had as much of it as *St. Paul*." This is in substance the argument of stanza iv. of the following *Contrast*.]

I.

**A**N humble Christian, to whose inward Sight  
 God shows the Truth, and then inspires to write,  
 Because of deeper Certainities declar'd  
 Than what the Mind perceives when unprepar'd,—  
 From them who measure all on which he treats  
 By the fix'd Standard of their own Conceits,  
 Meets with Contempt ; and very few will own  
 The real Truths, which he has really shown.—

II.

A sharp Philosopher, who thinks to find  
 By his own Reason, his own Strength of Mind, 10  
 Sublimier Things, that lie so far beyond  
 The Scenes to which such Forces correspond,—  
 From them who love to speculate like him,  
 And think all Light but that of Reason dim,  
 Meets with Admirers ; tho' he reasons wrong  
 And draws the Dupes, if plausible, along.—

III.

Now, tho' a Searcher should no more despise  
 The use of Reason than he should of Eyes :  
 Yet, if there be a still superior Light  
 Than Faculty of Reason has or Sight,— 20  
 Which all Religion seems to pre-suppose  
 That God on such as rightly seek bestows,—  
 In higher Matters how should he decide  
 Who takes his Reason only for his Guide ?

2. *And then inspires to write.* An of a sentence which is ill-constructed as *anakoŭthon*, which adds to the obscurity well as long.



## IV.

Such Words as Nature, Reason, Common Sense,  
 Furnish all Writers with one same Pretence ;  
 Altho' in many an acknowledg'd Case  
 They must fall short without Superior Grace ;  
 So that in Things of more momentous kind  
 Nature itself directs us not to mind,— 30  
 If Sacred Truth be heartily desir'd,—  
 The greatest Reas'ners, but the most inspir'd.

## V.

Whence comes the Value for the Scripture Page,  
 So justly due, so paid thro' ev'ry Age;—  
 Not writ by Men of Learning and of Parts,  
 But honest, humble and enlighten'd Hearts,  
 Who, when they reason'd, reason'd very well ;  
 But how enabl'd, let their Writings tell ?  
 Not one of all, but who ascribes the Force  
 Of Truth discover'd to an Higher Source ! 40

## VI.

Take these three Men, so diff'rent in their Way,  
 For Instance, *Behmen*, *Bolingbroke* and *Hay*.  
 They all philosophise on Sacred Themes  
 And build on Reason, the two last, their Schemes.  
 The first affirms, that his *Principia* flow  
 From what God's Spirit gave him Pow'r to know,—  
 As much a promis'd as a certain Guide,  
 With *Christ's* Disciples *ever* to abide.

29. *So that*, &c. See *Introductory Note*. *abide*. See *St. John*, xiv. 16: "And I  
 45. *His* PRINCIPIA. The first prin- will pray the Father, and he shall give  
 ciples of his theology. you another Comforter, that he may abide  
 48. With CHRIST'S Disciples EVER to with you for ever."

VII.

If *Bolingbrokian* Reason must prevail,  
All *Inspiration* is an idle Tale ; 50  
Writers by that, from *Moses* down to *Paul*,  
I spare to mention how he treats them all.  
Now, if he err'd, whence did that Error spring ?  
His *Reason* told him there was no such Thing,—  
Foundress, in her philosophising Cast,  
Of all his *first* Philosophy, and *last*.

VIII.

*Hay*, better taught, and more ingenuous Spark,  
Gropes with his Reason betwixt Light and Dark ;  
Now, gentle Glimmerings of Truth displays ;  
Now, lost in Fancy's intricater Maze, 60  
A motley Mixture of such Things has got,  
As Reason could discover, and could not ;  
Which all the Builders on its boasted Plan  
Prove to be just as manifold as Man.

IX.

This *Behmen* knew, and in his humble Way  
Became enlighten'd by a steadier Ray ;  
First, taught himself by what he heard and saw,  
Of *Grace* and *Nature* he explain'd the Law.  
That Sacred Spirit from which both arose,

51. From MOSES down to PAUL. Perhaps it will suffice to illustrate this charge at secondhand. See the following passage in the characterisation of Bolingbroke's theological writings in Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought*, &c., i. 178 : "When Paul's teaching is intelligible it is 'often absurd, or profane, by trifling.' His doctrine of predestination is impious and abominable ; unless some strained interpretation can be allowed under cover of 'the style of a writer, the least precise and clear that ever writ.' It is impossible to read Moses' account of the creation without feeling contempt for him as a philosopher and horror as a divine."

Taught him of both the Secrets to disclose 70  
 To them, who, using Eyes and Reason too,  
 Were fit for Truth in a Diviner View.

## X.

He does not write from Reason, nor appeals,  
 Of course, to what that Faculty reveals.  
 Yet, if the common Privilege be mine,  
 Reason may see that Something more Divine  
 Lies hid in what the Books of *Behmen* teach,  
 Tho' it surpass its apprehensive Reach ;  
 May see from what it really apprehends  
 That all mere Reas'ners *Behmen* far transcends. 80

## XI.

Fond of his Reason as a Man may be,  
 He should confess its limited Degree,  
 And by its fair Direction seek to find  
 A surer Guide to Things of deeper Kind.  
 The most sharp-sighted seek for other Men  
 Who may have seen what lies beyond their Ken ;  
 And in religious Matters most Appeals  
 Are made by Men to that which *God* reveals.

## XII.

How is it possible to judge aright  
 Of Heav'nly Things but by an Heav'nly Light,— 90  
 Contemn'd by *Bolingbroke*, by *Hay* confess'd,  
 By *Behmen*, possibly at least, possess'd ?  
 Truly inspir'd, as pious Minds have thought,  
*Jacob* was known to live as he had taught,

94. JACOB *was known to live as he had* 1624) was one of great simplicity and absolute self-devotion, and is in fact the story taught. The life of Jacob Böhme (1575-

And at his last departing Moment cried,  
"Now I go hence to Paradise,"—and died.

of a career in which oppression and suffering were but transitory incidents. I am not sure but that an instructive parallel (such as this is not the place to attempt) might be drawn between it and that of Bunyan. Both were alike subjected to stupid and cruel persecution, from the extremes of which the one was saved because his King happened to be a non-conformist, and the other because his prince hoped for his aid in alchemy. And both led an "inner life" which external troubles could not warp from its bent. But the mind of the Englishman was, I take it, essentially poetical and open to impressions; while that of the German was more purely speculative and pre-occupied.

95. *And at his last departing moment cried.* See Hamberger, *Die Lehre des deutschen Philosophen Jakob Böhme*, &c. (Munich, 1844), *Introduction*, p. xxvi.: " . . . soon after midnight Böhme called to him his son Tobias and asked him, whether he too did not hear the beautiful music; and, when he said no, bade him open the door, so that the singing might enter more easily. Then he enquired

what was the hour, and when told that the clock had struck two, answered: 'My time is not yet. My time is after three of the clock.' After an interval of silence he spake as follows: 'O thou mighty Lord of Sabaoth, save me according to Thy will!' And soon afterwards: 'O Lord Jesus Christ that was crucified, take pity on me and receive me into Thy Kingdom!' After this, he still made known where divers of his written works might be found. . . . [gave directions concerning his wife, who was not to survive him long, and] hereupon took leave of her and of his sons, bestowed upon them his blessing and said "Now fare I into Paradise;" and after bidding his eldest son, who perchance gazed at him with an all too tenacious glance of love, avert his eyes, fetched one deep sigh and died.'

In the *Life* prefixed to the 1764 English edition of the *Works of Jacob Behmen* (vol. i., p. xxii.) it is stated that "over his Grave was erected a blank wooden Cross . . . upon the Tree of which stood his last words: '*Now I go hence into Paradise.*'"

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## SOCRATES' REPLY CONCERNING HERACLITUS' WRITINGS.

[The anecdote reproduced in the first of the following stanzas will be found in Diogenes Laërtius, *De Vitis*, &c., *Clarorum Philosophorum*, Bk. ii. c. vii., § 22 (Hübners edn., 1830, i. 109). "They say, that when Euripides, submitting to him (Socrates) a work of Heraclitus, asked

him, 'what is your opinion,' he replied: 'what I have understood, is excellent; and I think that what I have not understood, is excellent likewise, except that it requires a Delian diver.'"

Professor Alexander, to whom I owe this reference, adds: "Heraclitus of Ephesus (fl. 502 B.C., c.), vulgarly known as the 'crying' or 'weeping' philosopher, was called 'the Dark,' probably because of the obscurity of his style, which is highly metaphorical and epigrammatical, rather than of any peculiar darkness in the tendency of his teaching. He held that all things were in a constant process of change,—all the successive changes being modifications of our primary substance, which he believed to be fire. He also formulated the doctrine of the unity of opposite things, such as life and death, justice and injustice," &c. Heraclitus was undoubtedly one of the greatest thinkers of antiquity.

Byrom himself made no pretence of possessing a complete key to the meaning of all that had been written by Jacob Böhme. "I have a respect," he writes, March, 25th, 1742, "for a man that honestly understands a valuable author, though never so difficult to myself. Jacob Behmen I believe to be such a one, but hardly that his books will become fashionable in my time, any more than Mr. Law's, who is to me more intelligible than any other English writer that I recollect." (*Remains*, ii. 311.) For "illustrations" of the obscurity of Jacob Böhme, including an extract from his "Preface to the Reader" introduced by Böhme with the words, "It must be set down more plainly and intelligibly," see Overton, *William Law*, pp. 190 *seqq.* See, *per contra*, Jean Paul's opinion, cited *ante*, p. 316. In my own judgment, which I offer with the utmost diffidence, there is no peculiar obscurity in "theosophers"—or even in philosophers—of Jacob Böhme's type, provided that their starting-point (I do not speak even of their stand-point) has been definitely announced or ascertained. The rest is a matter of faith—or of patience—on the part of those who sit at the teacher's feet.]

# I.

WHEN *Socrates* had read, as Authors note,  
 A certain Book that *Heraclitus* wrote,  
 Deep in its Matter and obscure beside,  
 Ask'd his Opinion of it, he replied :

"All that I understand is good and true,  
And what I don't is, I believe, so too."

II.

Thus answer'd *Socrates*, whom Greece confess'd  
The wisest of her Sages and the best,  
By Justice mov'd and Candour of a Piece  
With that Philosopher's Repute in Greece,— 10  
Worthy of Imitation, to be sure,  
When a good Writer is sometimes obscure.

III.

All the haranguing, therefore, on the Theme  
Of deep Obscurity in *Jacob Behme*  
Is but itself obscure ; for he might see  
Further, 'tis possible, than you or me.  
Meanwhile, the Goodness of his plainer Page  
Demands the Answer of the Grecian Sage.

IV.

The "Stuff and Nonsense, Labyrinth and Maze,  
Madness, Enthusiasm," and such-like Phrase,  
Its quick Bestowers are oblig'd to own,  
Ought not to move us by its eager Tone  
More than they ought in Reason to be mov'd,  
Should we so paint a Work which they approv'd.

V.

He whom the fair Socratical Remark  
Describes, was call'd "*σκοτεινός*," or "the *dark*."  
Yet his wise Reader from the Good in View  
Thought that his darker Passages were true ;  
He would not judge of what as yet lay hid,  
By what he did not see, but what he did.

## VI.

The Books of *Behme*, as none are tied to read,  
 To blame unread they have as little need ;  
 As they who read them most, the most commend,  
 Others at least may venture to suspend,  
 Or think with ref'rence to such Books as these  
 Of HERACLITUS and of SOCRATES.

---

THOUGHTS UPON HUMAN REASON,  
 OCCASIONED BY READING SOME EXTRAVAGANT  
 DECLAMATIONS IN ITS FAVOUR.

[I am not aware that the ensuing "Thoughts," or the reflexions contained in the subsequent piece, which is written in a rather more sustained style, can be traced to any particular original. In the writings of Jacob Böhme, which are so largely in dialogue,—or *quasi*-dialogue—form, no form of "interpellation" is more common than "*So spricht die Vernunft*," ("Reason objects,") answered by "*Höre, Vernunft!*" ("Listen, Reason,") &c. The latter part of *Law's Case of Reason, or Natural Religion fairly and fully stated, in answer to a book entitled Christianity as Old as the Creation* (published about 1732, and included in vol. ii. of Law's collected *Works*), may have suggested the general line of thought as to the insufficiency of the human reason outside its own sphere ; but there is no close relation between the reply to Tindal's book (which appeared in 1730) and Byrom's verses, and the appeal to the Divine Light at the close of the second of these pieces is simply the pervading idea of Law's religious system. "This Christ of God has many Names in Scripture ; but they all mean only this, that he is, and alone can be, the *Light*, and *Life*, and *Holiness* of every Creature that is holy, whether in Heaven or on Earth." (*The Spirit of Love*, Part I., p. 13 ; *Works*, vol. viii.) Law's first notion of Jacob Böhme was derived from a book called "*Ratio et Fides*"—either Count Mittenach's anthology from Madame Guyon or a work by Poiret bearing a similar title. (See Overton, *William Law*, p. 179, *note*.)]

I.

YES, I have read them ;—but I cannot find  
Much Depth of Sense in Writers of this Kind.  
They all retail, as they proceed along,  
Or superficial Sentiments or wrong ;  
Of “Reason! Reason!” they repeat the Cries,  
And “Reason’s Use,”—which Nobody denies.

II.

All Sharers in it follow, I suppose,  
Each one his Reason, as he does his Nose,  
When he intends to reach a certain Spot,  
Whether he finds the Road to it, or not. 10  
With equal Sense a *Postulatum* begs  
The Use of Reason, as the Use of Legs.

III.

Full well these rational Adepts declaim  
On Points at which their Reason can take Aim ;  
But when they talk beyond them, what Mistakes  
Of various Kind their various Reason makes !  
All are for one same Rule, and in its Use  
All singly clear and mutually abstruse.

IV.

What plainer Demonstration can be had,  
That their original Pretence is bad 20  
Who say, their own or human Reason’s Light  
Must needs direct them to determine right ?  
What greater Proof of a superior Skill  
Needful to Reas’ners, reason how they will ?

x x



## V.

Sense to discern and Reason to compare  
 Are Gifts that merit our improving Care,  
 But want an Inward Light, when all is done,  
 As Seeds and Plants do that of outward Sun.  
 Main Help neglected, tasteless Fruits arise,  
 And Wisdom grows insipid in the Wise.

30

## VI.

Tho' all these Reason-Worshippers profess  
 To guard against fanatical Excess,  
 "Enthusiastic *Heat*"—their fav'rite Theme—  
 Draws their Attention to the *cold* Extreme ;  
 Their Fears of *torrid* Fervors freeze a Soul ;  
 To shun the *Zone* they send it to the Pole.

## VII.

The very Sound of rational and plain  
 Contents, where Sense is neither of the twain,  
 A World of Readers, whose polite Concern  
 Is to be learnèd without Pains to learn.  
 To please their Palates with a modish Treat,  
 Cheap is the Cost, and here is the *Receipt* :

40

## VIII.

"Let Reason, first, Imagination, Passions  
 "Be clean drest-up in pretty-worded Fashions ;  
 "Then let Imagination, Passions, Reason  
 "Change Places round at each commodious Season ;  
 "Till Reason, Passions and Imagination  
 "Have prov'd the Point by their complete Rotation."

33. "*Enthusiastic HEAT.*" As to the force of the epithet see *ante*, pp. 170 *seqq.*

ON FAITH, REASON, AND SIGHT,  
CONSIDERED AS THE THREE DISTINCT MEDIUMS  
OF HUMAN PERCEPTION,

[See *Introductory Note* to the preceding piece.]

I.

THERE is a threefold correspondent Light  
That shines to *Faith*, to *Reason*, and to *Sight*.  
The first, *Eternal*,—bringing into View  
Celestial Objects, if the *Faith* be true ;  
The next, *Internal*,—which the reas'ning Mind  
Consults in Truths of an ideal Kind ;  
The third, *External*,—and perceiv'd thereby  
All *outward* Objects that affect the Eye.

II.

Each Light is good within its destin'd Sphere ;  
Nor with each other do they interfere. 10  
*Faith* does not reason, *Reason* does not see,  
Nor *Sight* extend beyond a fixt Degree ;  
Yet *Faith* in Light of a superior Kind  
Cannot be call'd irrational or blind ;  
Because an Higher Certainty display'd  
Includes the Force of all inferior Aid.

III.

As Body, Soul and Spirit make a Man,  
Each has the Help of its appointed Plan ;  
Sight, Hearing, Smell, and Taste and feeling Sense  
What the *corporeal* Nature wants, dispense ; 20

Thinking, Comparing, Judging, and the whole  
Of reasoning Faculties, assist the *Soul* ;  
Faith, and whatever else may be express  
By Grace Celestial, makes the *Spirit* blest.

## IV.

To heal Defect, or to avoid Excess,  
The Greater Light should still correct the less,  
And form within the right obedient Will  
A *seeing, reas'ning* and *believing* Skill ;  
While Body moves as outward Sense directs,  
And Soul perceives what Reason's Light reflects, 30  
And Spirit, fill'd with Lustre from Above,  
Obeys by Faith and operates by Love.

## V.

A sober Person, tho' his Eyes are good,  
Slights not the Truths by Reason understood  
Nor just Conclusions, under the Pretence  
Of Contradiction to his seeing Sense.  
Knowing the Limits too that Reason hath,  
He does not seek to quench the Light of Faith ;  
But rationally grants that It may teach  
What human Stretch of Reason cannot reach. 40

## VI.

As Sight to Reason in the Things that lie  
Beyond the Ken of the corporeal Eye  
Unhurt, uninjur'd, yields itself of course,  
So well-taught Reason owns a Higher Force.  
By Faith enlighten'd, it enjoys a Rest  
In clearer Light to find its own supprest,—  
Suff'ring no more, for want of its Display,  
Than Moon and Stars in full meridian Day.

VII.

To make the reas'ning Faculty of Man  
Do more or less to help him than it can, 50  
Is equally absurd ; but worse to slight  
Or want the Benefits of *Faith* than *Sight*.  
If he who sees no outward Light be blind,  
How *dismal dark* must be the *faithless* Mind !  
The one is only natural Defect ;  
The other wilful, obstinate Neglect ;—

VIII.

Pretence of Reason. For it is Pretence  
Foolish and fatal in the saddest Sense ;  
For Reason cannot alter what is true,  
Or any more prevent, than Eyes can do. 60  
Both by the Limits which they feel proclaim  
The real Want of a Celestial Flame ;—  
How is it possible to see, in fine,  
The Things of GOD without a *Light Divine* ?

---

VERSES DESIGNED FOR AN INFIRMARY.

[If the Infirmary in question be the Manchester Infirmary, which was founded in 1752, the first stone of the buildings being laid in 1754 and the institution opened in the following year, these lines may have been written at some time near those dates. Cf. *A Query, ante*, vol. i. p. 570.]

I.

DEAR loving Sirs, behold, as ye pass by,  
The poor sick People with a pitying Eye !  
Let Pains, and Wounds, and Suff'rings of each Kind,  
Raise up a just Compassion in your Mind ;

Indulge a gen'rous Grief at such a Sight,  
And then bestow your *Talent* or your *Mite*!

## II.

Thus to bestow is really to obtain  
The surest Blessing upon honest Gain ;  
To help th' afflicted in so great a Need  
By your Supplies is to be rich indeed : 10  
The Good, the Pleasure, the Reward of Wealth  
Is to procure your Fellow-creatures Health.

## III.

In other Cases Men may form a Doubt,  
Whether their Alms be properly laid out ;  
But in the Objects here before your Eyes  
No such Distrust can possibly arise ;  
Too plain the Miseries, which well may melt  
An Heart sincerely wishing them unfelt.

## IV.

The Wise consider this terrestrial Ball  
As Heav'n's design'd INFIRMARY for all. 20  
Here came the GREAT PHYSICIAN of the Soul,  
To *heal* Man's Nature, and to make him *whole*,—  
Still by His SPIRIT present with all those  
Who lend an Aid to lessen human Woes.

## V.

A Godlike Work ! Who forwards it is sure  
That ev'ry Step advances his own Cure ;

6. *And then bestow your TALENT or your MITE.* See *St. Mark*, xii. 41-2 ; *St. Luke*, xxi. 1-2.

20. *As HEAV'N's design'd Infirmary for all.* A Byronic inversion.

22. *The Great Physician of the Soul.* See *Job*, xiii. 3-4 : "Surely I would speak to the Almighty, and I desire to reason with God. But ye are forgers of lies, ye are physicians of no value."

Without Benevolence the View to Self  
Makes worldly Riches an unrighteous Pelf ;  
While, blest thro' Life, the Giver for his Love  
Dies, to receive its huge Reward above.

30

VI.

To them who tread the certain Path to Bliss,  
That leads thro' Scenes of Charity like this,  
Think what the Saviour of the World will say :  
"Ye blessed of My Father, come your Way ;  
"'Twas done to Me, if done to the distress :  
"Come, ye true Friends, and be for ever blest !"

27. *Without Benevolence the View to Self.* Yet a desire for self-advancement, if unaccompanied by benevolence.

29. *The Giver for his Love*

*Dies to receive its huge Reward above.*

A plus-quam-Byronic inversion. The giver dies, to receive above the huge reward of his love.

34 *seqq.* "Ye blessed of My Father," &c.

See *St. Matthew*, xxv. 34 and 40: "Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world . . .

Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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*Page 73.* I owe to the learning of Mr. H. T. Francis, of Caius College and the University Library, Cambridge, the suggestion, as to the correctness of which I can entertain no doubt though I have had no opportunity of verifying it, that the "most admirable book" which Byrom had been reading about July, 1736, was *The Kingdom of the Soul*, by the Capuchin Pater Joannes Evangelista "Silvaducensis" (of Hertogenbusch), published at Paris in 1657. A copy of this is in the British Museum.

*Page 139.* The *Second Part* of *The Spirit of Prayer* was published together with the *First Part* in 1749. *The Way to Divine Knowledge*, a continuation of the Dialogues forming the *Second Part* of *The Spirit of Prayer*, was published in 1752. (This correction is also made *ante*, p. 314.)

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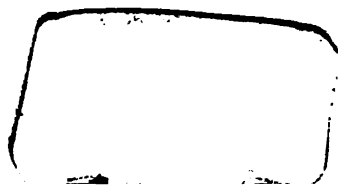
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